UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

INKA BORDERS AND THE POWER OF VOLATILITY: ON THE FRINGES AND EDGES OF TEXTILE AND TERRITORY

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

VISUAL STUDIES

by
Gaby Greenlee
March 2022

The Dissertation of Gaby Greenlee is approved:

_____
Professor Carolyn Dean, Chair, Visual Studies

_____
Professor Amanda Smith, Literature

_____
Professor Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, Art History

_____
Peter F. Biehl
Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

Copyright by
Gaby Greenlee
2022

Table of Contents

List of Figures:
iv-viii

Abstract: *Inka Borders and the Power of Volatility: On the Fringes and Edges of Textile and Territory*
ix-xii

Dedication and Acknowledgments:
xiii-xvi

Introduction:
1-36

Chapter 1: *Threshold Spaces: Borders in Textiles, in Time*
37-95

Chapter 2: *Bordering on Chaos: Order and the Virtues of Volatility in the Inka Empire*
96- 178

Chapter 3: *Tracing Empire: Women as Power Players, Alliance Makers, and Border Figures in Inka Territoriality*
179- 230

Chapter 4: *Media that Mediates: Textiles and Texts in the Colonial Space*
231-296

Conclusion:
297- 301

Appendix:
302-311

Bibliography:
312-329

List of Figures

Fig. 1. Natural volcanic rock form identified as *wak'a*, 15th-16th century CE, ~12" Museo de Pachacamac, Peru (photograph by the author)

Fig. 2. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. CAPÍTVLO DE LOS ÍDOLOS, *VACA BILLCA INCAP* [divinidades del Inka] *folio 261 [263]* Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/263/en/text/

Fig. 3. Paracas Mantle, Early Intermediate Period, c. 200 BCE - 200 CE. Camelid fiber plain weave with stem stitch and loop stitch embroidery, 57 1/4 x 98 1/8 in. Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) no. 67.4 (image in the public domain)

Fig. 4. Wari *unku*/ tunic. Middle Horizon, c. 500-1000 CE. Interlocked tapestry weave; 37 x 41 in., Textile Museum, Washington DC; Object ID 91.9 (photograph by the author)

Fig. 5. (Detail) Wari *unku*/ tunic, c. 500-1000 CE. Interlocked tapestry weave; 37 x 41 in. Textile Museum, Washington DC; Object ID 91.9 (photograph by the author)

Fig. 6. Wari open-ended ceramic form/effigy, Viñaque style figure in tie-dyed tunic and four-cornered hat, Peru, c. 850-1000 CE. Ceramic and slip, 12 x 9 in., Museum Rietberg, Zurich, RPB 320 (photograph by Andreas Praefcke, in the public domain)

Fig. 7. Chancay *Unku*/ tunic, (Central highland Inka influence but perhaps Chillón Valley), c. 1450-1550. Camelid hair tapestry weave in main pattern area and likely dovetailed warp in stepped border section at bottom, H. 22 x W. 34 in., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1979.206.954 (image in the public domain)

Fig. 8. Chancay sleeved *unku*/ tunic, c.1450-1530. Cotton and camelid fiber (likely cotton warps and camelid wefts except for white areas which would most likely be cotton weft) in slit tapestry (weft-facing) technique with stripe and bird motifs, 18.5 x 53.5 in., image courtesy of the Dallas Museum of Art, 1988.45 (image in the public domain)

Fig. 9. *Unku*/tunic; coastal Peru, (likely Chancay production with highland influence), c. 1460-1540. Camelid hair and cotton fiber, 19H x 47 W in., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983.497.1 (image in the public domain)

Fig. 10. *Talega*/ woven pouch, Isluga, (Aymara community) northern Chile, 20th century. Camelid fibers, 11 x 10 in., Colección Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, # 2031

Fig. 11. Inka checkerboard (*qullqapata*) *unku*/ tunic, c. 1438-1532. Cotton warp (3-ply, s-direction), camelid hair weft (z-spun, s-plied), camelid hair embroidery,

tapestry weave with interlocked joins, woven neck slit, embroidered edges, 35 x 32 in., The Fowler Museum, University of California, Los Angeles, No. X86.3960

Fig. 12. “Mango Capac, Primero Ynga.” [The first Inka ruler, Manco Qhapaq.] *Historia General del Piru*, 1616, de Fray Martín de Murúa (Getty Murúa, folio 21v) (image in the public domain)

Fig. 13. Inka *unku*/tunic with waistband concentric rhombus/diamond motifs, 1460-1540. Tapestry weave with embroidered detail. Camelid and cotton fiber; 29 W x 35 L in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, c. No. 1982.365 (image in the public domain)

Fig. 14. Inka *unku*/tunic with “Inka key” motif, c. 1400-1532. Tapestry weave with embroidered detailing at edge. camelid fiber, 33 7/8 x 29 1/8 in., Brooklyn Museum, # 86.224.133 (image in the public domain)

Fig. 15. Detail of Inka *unku*/tunic of *qullqapata*/checkerboard type, 1470-1532 CE. Camelid fiber and cotton tapestry weave, 34 3/8 × 31 1/4 in., Los Angeles Museum of Art, M.76.45.8 (image in the public domain)

Fig. 16. Inka *qullqa*/storehouse at Ollantaytambo in the Sacred Valley, central Peru. (photograph by the author)

Fig. 17. Inka *unku*/tunic with stepped neckline. Tapestry weave with embroidered detailing. Camelid fibers, 30 x 24 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1977.131 (photograph by the author)

Fig. 18. Inka *unku*, the “All-*Tuqapu*” tunic, c. 1450-1540 CE. Tapestry weave camelid and cotton fiber, The Dumbarton Oaks Library and Museum, PC.B.518, 35 1/2 x 30 3/8 in. (image in the public domain, through wikicommons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:tupa-inca-tunic.png)

Fig. 19. Inka checkerboard *unku*/tunic, 16th century. Camelid fiber; H. 34 1/4 x W. 30 1/8 in. (87 x 76.5 cm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2017.674 (image in the public domain)

Fig. 20. Section of the “All-*Tuqapu*” Inka *unku* showing variety of motifs within each square, or *tuqapu* (photograph by the author, taken at the Getty Exhibit, *Golden Kingdoms: Luxury Arts in the Ancient Americas*, 2017)

Fig. 21. Miniature Inka *unku*/tunic of *qullqapata*/checkerboard type with zigzag detail at bottom edge in embroidery (photograph by the author, taken at the Getty Exhibit, *Golden Kingdoms: Luxury Arts in the Ancient Americas* 2017)

Fig. 22. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. GOVERNADOR DE LOS PVENTES DESTE R[EI]NO *CHACA SVIOIOC* [responsable de puentes], *ACOS INGA*, GVAMBO *CHACA folio 356 [358]*

Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online:
http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/358/en/text/?open=idm46287306165344

Fig. 23. Felipe *Guaman Poma de Ayala. Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno,* 1615. AMOJONADORES DESTE REINO, VNA CAVCHO INGA, CONA RAQVI INGA, folio 352 [354] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/354/en/text/

Fig. 24. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. *MANGO CAPAC INGA,* folio 86 [86] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online:
http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/86/en/text/

Fig. 25. (Provincial) Inka *ch'uspa*/coca bag; Late Horizon or Early Colonial, c. 1400-1600; Camelid and cotton fibers; Tapestry weave combined with warp-pattern double-cloth; 20 1/16 x 7 1/16 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, The Elizabeth Day McCormick Collection, no. 51.2452

Fig. 26. Proto-Nasca woven mantle, c. 400-100 BCE. Loop-stitch fringe figures, two loom-widths sewn together in the middle, 54 x 54 in., Peabody Andover Collection, no. 95.22.1 (photograph by the author)

Fig. 27. Andean Cosmology or "Pachacuti Yamqui's drawing of the Qoricancha," Billie Jean Isbell Andean Collection, ID ISB_01138, Cornell University

Fig. 28. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. PRIMER CAPÍTVLO DE LAS MONJAS, *ACLLACONA*S [*las escogidas*] folio 298 [300] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online:
http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/300/en/text/?open=idm46287306191616

Fig. 29. (Detail) Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. PRIMER CAPÍTVLO DE LAS MONJAS, *ACLLACONA*S [*las escogidas*] folio 298 [300] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online:
http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/300/en/text/?open=idm46287306191616

Fig. 30. (Detail) Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. PRIMER CAPÍTVLO DE LAS MONJAS, *ACLLACONA*S [*las escogidas*] folio 298 [300] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online:
http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/300/en/text/?open=idm46287306191616

Fig. 31. "Mango Capac, Primero Ynga." [The first Inka ruler, Manco Qhapaq.] *Historia General del Piru*, 1616, de Fray Martín de Murúa (Getty Murúa).

Fig. 32. Inka *chumpi*/belt, 1450-1532. Camelid fiber, double-face complementary warp pattern with diamond motif, 131 L x 1.5 W in. American Museum of Natural History B/4642

Fig. 33. Mama Huaco, *Historia General del Piru*, 1616, de Fray Martín de Murúa (Getty Murúa).

Fig. 34. Inka, young girl's *lliklla*/mantle, 15th—early 16th century. Tapestry weave cotton warp and camelid weft, ~ 24 x 27 1/2 inches (folded) 43 3/4 x 27 1/2 inches woven, Cotsen Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Cotsen.

Fig. 35. Comparison of the *saramama* type of *chumpi* and its diamond/zigzag pattern, with the Inka *lliklla* zigzag pattern.

Fig. 36. Author's schematic rendering of the over-under movement of wefts over warp threads or vice versa, after Conklin's rendering.

Fig. 37. Paracas-Ocucaje *unku*/tunic, c. 4th century CE. Wool loop knit, 28 x 24 in., Paul Hughes Collection, The Whitworth Museum, Manchester, UK (image in the public domain) (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ocucaje-Shirt_Paul-Hughes-Collection.jpg)

Fig. 38. Inca *unku*/ tunic; c.1400-1532. Camelid fiber, vicuña fringe, 35 7/16 x 31 1/8 in. (90 x 79 cm), Brooklyn Museum (Museum Expedition 1941) (image in the public domain)

Fig. 39. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno,* 1615. PREGVNTA EL AVTOR, "MA, VILLAVAI ["Pero, díganme"] ACHAMITAMA," [Aymara: "Tu llanto desde allí"] folio 366 [368]. Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/368/en/text/?open=idm46287306165344

Fig. 40. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, c. 1615.PRINCIPALES: *CAPAC APO GVAMAN CHAgua*, Yaro Bilca, Allauca Guanoco, hijo de *capac apo Chaua*, príncipe Ayala, *capac churi,* folio 741 [755] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/755/en/text/

Fig. 41. Inka *unku/* tunic (front). Warp-faced plain weave single length with embroidery detailing. Camelid fiber, silk, metallic thread, 26 3/4 x 31 in. (67.9 x 78.7 cm). c. seventeenth century. Brooklyn Museum, Gift of the Ernest Erickson Foundation, Inc., no. 86.224.51 (image in the public domain)

Fig. 42. Inka *unku/* tunic (back). Warp-faced plain weave single length with embroidery detailing. Camelid fiber, silk, metallic thread, 26 3/4 x 31 in. (67.9 x 78.7

cm). c. seventeenth century. Brooklyn Museum, Gift of the Ernest Erickson Foundation, Inc., no. 86.224.51 (image in the public domain)

Fig. 43. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, c. 1615. *ATAGVALPA INGA* ESTÁ EN LA CIVDAD DE CAXAMARCA EN SV TRONO, *VSNO*, folio 384 [386] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/386/en/text/?open=idm46287306144304

Fig. 44. Anónimo Cuzqueño, Manuela Tupa Amaro, c. 1777. Oil on canvas, 167x 106 cm, image courtesy of the Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Lima, Peru.

Fig. 45. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, c. 1615. SEGVNDA ARMA: LAS ARMAS, folio 83 [83] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/83/en/text/

Fig. 46. (Detail) Anónimo Cuzqueño, Manuela Tupa Amaro, c. 1777. Oil on canvas, 167x 106 cm, image courtesy of the Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Lima, Peru.

Fig. 47. (Detail) Anónimo Cuzqueño, Manuela Tupa Amaro, c. 1777. Oil on canvas, 167x 106 cm, image courtesy of the Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Lima, Peru.

Abstract

Inka Borders and the Power of Volatility:
On the Fringes and Edges of Textile and Territory
Gaby Greenlee

Inka elites of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries used certain textiles as indices of identity that registered value and status to viewers but also used textiles to make material and evident how they understood certain relationships in spatial terms. My dissertation revolves around how Inka textiles articulated ideas of space, serving as critical materializations of how they organized space and, relatedly, how they conceived edges of their territory as well as other border spaces. The Inkas used textiles to express relationships that existed in physical terms but also that existed across socio-cultural or spiritual networks. With particular attention to textile borders, I discuss how the Inkas visualized border spaces as volatile but productive. Textile border areas may be seen as expressions of elusive ontological border areas; for example, those spaces that existed between natural and supernatural entities or that divided one cultural reality from another. Alternately, textile borders may be expressions of larger physical border areas, such as the spaces that existed between enemy territory. In this, I suggest the Inkas saw borders as fruitful places of encounter and engagement rather than as areas of separation and enclosure.

Examining textiles as media through which the Inkas materialized notions of space and border, I situate Indigenous textiles as valuable archives that relay information and knowledge beyond what written accounts transmit. After Spanish invasion, Inka history was mostly recorded through the colonizing power's documentary means. The written word was assumed to be the authoritative language of history. Yet, the

material format of Indigenous Andean textiles has long been understood to carry embedded meaning and, specifically in relation to ideas of space, has been recognized as deeply entwined within a discourse of landscape and land use. My dissertation finds its impetus here, therefore, asking how we can use textiles to think historically about Indigenous ways of inhabiting space and negotiating changes and interactions across space. I conclude that we *can* use textiles as communicative modes that complement histories told in the colonizer's mode, providing an understanding of the pre-contact Andean space even within, for example, discourses of territoriality.

Chapter 1 discusses the value of interactive, relational frameworks in an Indigenous Andean worldview and how relationships are made material through forms such as *wak'as* and, significantly, textiles. To put into perspective how the Inkas used textiles to express aspects of the inhabited space, I look at various textile examples across Andean history wherein the fabric space—and particularly references to border areas and articulation of borders in this space—serves as a materialization of religious, socio-political, and/or territorial relationships.

Chapter 2 reviews textiles as a medium that could transmit for the Inkas ideas and experiences of the lived space or environment— through their material and formal and design qualities— and that as such served as metonyms for Inka territory. The chapter looks at tokapu motifs on men's garments but also more closely at the detail of zigzag embroidery at the selvedges /edges of Inka unkus/tunics and suggests they communicate something about the way the Inka state perceived the "edges" of its

empire. The underlying premise here is that textiles showcase how, for the Inkas, border areas are inherently active zones where exchange between interior and exterior interests is to be expected and perhaps even integrated into a state ideology of productive tension—as if the flux boundary space energizes the state's territorial extremities.

Chapter 3 expands on Chapter 2's discussion of how an Inka ideology of space played out in male textile garments by bridging to how the Inkas expressed the relationship between textiles, the inhabited space, and ideas of border through women—namely through women's roles as weavers (the *akllakuna*) and through their bodies as tribute subjects. Conscripted to serve the state in ways that essentially made visible Inka control over outside communities and their resources, *akllas* were an expression of the Inka body politic. The chapter points to examples of textiles associated with women's wear that are legible within an Inka discourse of conquest closely interlaced with women's roles wherein women visualized Inka claim to new territories.

Chapter 4 discusses how if in the pre-contact context both men's and women's woven garments were able to express a wearer's place of origin or extended notions of land use and border spaces or territorial edges, then it is likely these messages carried into the post-contact period. Because Indigenous textiles were heavily invested with communicative meaning in the pre-contact period, it is plausible that this continued into the colonial period and that a visual rhetoric of textiles exercised

an Andean relationship to space, particularly to the inhabited space within the context of early colonial territorial dispossession. This chapter considers the possibilities that certain motifs on colonial era Indigenous textiles and ascertained in colonial representations of textiles helped convey Indigenous authority in ways that would have had significant meaning to elite Andeans, namely in associations with a past defined by autochthonous Andean (Inka) rulership and in connotations of Indigenous access to (their) land.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

I have been able to complete this dissertation with the support of numerous institutions that have funded my research over the past several years and provided me with the resources to develop the content in the following chapters. Fellowships that have given me time and financial support to carry out research in the United States related to my dissertation project include: a Thoma Foundation Grant at the Blanton Museum at the University of Texas, Austin, where the scholar Rosario Granados welcomed me and offered indispensable guidance for a short visit; a John Carter Brown Library fellowship, through which I was able to meet a great group of scholars while diving into a month of careful reading at the JCB, accessing their excellent resources; a Walter Read Hovey Memorial Fund grant, which provided me with funds to travel to various U.S. museums housing Inka and other early Andean textiles; the Linda S. Cordell Memorial Research Award through the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology, which gave me access to a special selection of pre-contact Andean textiles.

I have also been grateful to receive funding that enabled me to travel abroad to Peru to undertake critical research for this project. A Betty J. Meggers Grant for South America through the Americas Research Network in 2017 allowed me a first research visit to Cusco, Peru, where I was able to take the first steps in developing questions regarding the value transmitted through Inka textiles. The funding for this trip allowed me to visit institutions whose collections were key in shaping my dissertation questions, such as the colonial archives in Cusco (Archivo Regional del Cusco), the

Museo del Inka, the Museo Precolombino, and the Archivo Arzobispal del Cusco. This first research journey to Peru set a template for a later visit, in 2019, that was funded by a Fulbright Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad award, which allowed me to extend my research ambit to other sites in Peru. I was able to visit the Archivo General de la Nación in Lima (AGN), the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL), as well as various museums: Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Museo Pedro de Osma, Museo Amano, the Museo Larco, as well as numerous important pre-contact archaeological sites and monuments across Peru.

I would like to thank the following individuals in Peru for their hospitality and generosity and for their willingness to share the content and materials housed in the institutions they worked at, and for kindly offering their knowledge or resources: the researcher Donato Amado Gonzales at the Parque Arqueológico Nacional de Machupicchu, the licenciados Cáceres Olivera and Cruz Aucapuri at the Archivo Regional del Cusco, the curator Doris Robles at the Museo Amano, the collections manager, Giannina Bardales, and the curator, Isabel Collazos, at Museo Larco, the head of collections, Luis Adawi Schreiber, at Museo Pedro de Osma. I would also like to thank people I met in Peru outside of these research and museum institutions who were also significant resources to me as I developed my work and tried to find my way as a scholar: the linguist Gina Maldonado, who welcomed me into her home to teach me Quechua, a language full of heart; Dr. Gail Silverman, who shared her rich thoughts on my work and also provided me with a very special opportunity to meet other students and scholars interested in weaving and Andean textile traditions;

the weaver Augusta Pumacahua, from Chinchero, who kindly and patiently shared some of her weaving knowledge with me and did so with a good sense of humor, thankfully; Verónica Tabja del Solar, in charge of cultural initiatives at Mater Iniciativa, the non-profit research entity linked to MIL Restaurante, and who helped me plan a research visit to a community in Moray that collaborates with Mater on weaving projects. There were many other people I encountered across different stages of my studies and adventures in Peru who made that year a wonderful dreamscape and they too have informed this work to some extent.

Closer to home and closer to the written work that would eventually turn into the chapters of this manuscript, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the following people: Dr. Carolyn Dean at the University of California, Santa Cruz (UCSC), who, as my dissertation advisor has offered me endless support and encouragement and whose excellent research and writing in the field have provided an example to follow; Dr. Maria Evangelatou, who was an early supporter of my research and has continued to be a great advocate for me and my work; Dr. Amanda Smith, another advisor who has been a source of inspiration as a scholar and who also, importantly, brought the world of Quechua to me in Santa Cruz before I was able to travel to Peru as a researcher; Dr. Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, who I fortuitously met at a conference on textiles where I had some of my first conversations on "zigzags" in Inka textiles, and whose explorations of textile value in the Andes serve as a model for how to ask questions about fiber arts within embedded cultural

practice; Dr. Jeffrey Erbig, whose class on questions of space and human geographies offered one of the first important pivots in my research on Andean textiles.

I would like to thank, as well, my family and friends and loved ones for their steadfast support during the past several years. Thank you for the balance or imbalance you have provided, whichever I needed and whenever I needed it, and for the sense of humor and levity you brought me when things felt most difficult—I cannot point to specific events but I know there have been a few. Thank you to my parents, David and Clara, who brought me into this larger space of life by way of the Andes, making Lima, Peru, my first home. In some ways, my research in the Andes has been part of a return journey to the place of my birth and textiles have been a wonderful tactile and sensorial medium through which I have been trying to espy, or even touch, multiple pasts across various cultural and temporal divides. If you have ever held an Indigenous Andean textile in your hands, tracing the movement of dexterously handled fibers with your own less nimble fingers or rested your eyes on their familiar-seeming patterns that nonetheless elude you, or if you have ever lifted one of these textiles to your face and caught in it the scent of time and place and living beings, then you know they are capable of holding such things as the above and the below, the outer and the inner, the past and the present and the future.

Introduction

As an aspect of its claim to power, the Inka Empire of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries relied on a narrative of Inka rootedness in the landscape and an ideology of relational attachment to the land to justify their claims to the Cusco valley and their subsequent territorial expansion along the western edge of South America. This ideology can be distilled in terms of Inka notions of space and spatial relationships which were often expressed in Inka visual culture, in a range of objects and images and image-making practices. Through Inka visual culture, we can appreciate the materialization or embodiment of an Inka worldview wherein an attention to space and how different types of spaces were articulated, inhabited, trespassed, and experienced, was of paramount importance.[1]

At one level, the Inkas shaped identity in relation to the physical Andean space through visual modes that helped them assert power in tandem with militaristic presence on the landscape. Textiles were key visual modes that functioned as instruments of Inka power, materializing how the Inkas organized space, and expressing ideas of order that superseded the formal and structural relationships

[1] I set out visual culture here in an interdisciplinary scope, one that is not uninterested in how things are approached in art history (i.e., with aesthetic questions, through historical thinking, often centered on, at least initially, a canonical framework), but that extends its preoccupations. With visual culture, I mean to examine how things relay information as mediated by various types of analyses, e.g. identity structure, social reality, political dynamic, linguistic development, for example, and, in addition, I use this parameter to foreground certain materials, such as textiles, that fall outside the reach of other academic disciplines. For a brief discussion of how visual culture has been conceived in relation to cultural studies, visual studies more broadly, and art history, see the introduction of James Elkins's, *What is Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction* (New York and London: Routledge 2003) 1-30.

presented in meticulous arrangements of colored thread. A long tradition of textile production and use in the Andes provided a visual platform through which the Inkas could relay complex understandings of space. And, as I will discuss in the following chapters, textiles brought forward notions of the *edges* of space, as well. In other words, the framing of textile-as-space postulates ways of thinking about relationships across discrete areas (i.e. borders) that leads to extrapolations of how within any given "whole," the parts are meant to be kept separate or not. Furthermore, not only were textiles metonymic of Inka space in terms of how they synthesized the experiences of the lived environment, embodying something about their physical surroundings, but textiles also, I suggest, visualized ideological spaces, for example, what we may call social and spiritual landscapes (and the border areas of these types of spaces).

In their layout, their motifs, and their structural attributes, Indigenous Andean textiles—as epitomized in an elite category of Inka textiles—ultimately can be "read" to communicate something about spatial relationships across categories. They reflect Inka experiences and practices that express how they valued interaction and balance between parts and forms and also how they understood or valued potential imbalances, or the volatile edges and borders of physical spaces and also of cultural or other less material spaces. A textile language or rhetoric can thus be said to shape an Andean worldview on multiple levels.

The following four chapters examine textiles and representations of textiles under the broad category of "Andean" culture and that are, furthermore, associated with the broad term, "Indigenous."[2] However, with regard to Indigenous practices and experiences, I am mindful that generalization of the term "Indigenous" can diminish our understanding of particular cultures. Indigeneity and Indigenous identity, which have emerged as legal-political expressions with global meaning and validity in the second half of the twentieth century, facilitate to an extent how we can engage with practices and experiences distinct from a Western trajectory but it is also important to recognize that, as the scholars Graham and Penny state, "Indigeneities are materially constituted and embodied within specific historical constraints."[3] My scholarship aims to treat the material according to the constraints of my cultural and historical distance from the Indigenous subjects I seek to learn about. Here I specify, therefore, when I use the "Andean" and "Indigenous" identifications in this research project, my attention is largely to the Indigenous Andeans of the highland areas of the Central and Southern Andes and if otherwise I try to point that out. The cultural context of the textiles I reference are also narrowed to a degree as being associated with the

[2] The words "Indigenous" and "Native" are capitalized throughout this dissertation since they refer to an identity category in the manner that "Spaniard" or "European" are words equally recognized as such. For more on terminology and spelling as applied to Indigenous peoples, see the Native American Journalists Association's document on representations of Indigenous people in media: https://najanewsroom.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/NAJA_Reporting_and_Indigenous_Terminology_Guide.pdf

[3] Laura R. Graham and H. Glenn Penny, "Performing Indigeneity: Emergent Identity, Self-Determination, and Sovereignty," in *Performing Indigeneity* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 4-5.

Quechua and Aymara linguistic/ethnic groups; this identification is more difficult in earlier pre-contact phases, however.

The more pointed focus throughout the chapters is on textile examples linked directly to the Inka Empire and extending, in the last chapter, to expressions of Inka culture during colonial rule as late as the eighteenth century. The time frame of the Inka Empire spans the rise of Inka rulership from a concentrated base in the Cusco heartland to an ever growing, expansionist state extending thousands of miles north- and southwards until Spanish forces invaded the region and overthrew Inka leadership.[4] During the next roughly two and half centuries until the republican revolutions across the Andes, the region previously ruled by the Inkas was under the authority and influence of the Spanish Crown and the Papacy and, as such, colonized by European and Catholic interests.

Many chapter sections touch on an Indigenous Andean worldview and way of framing knowledge. My analysis overall, however, does not offer to give an Indigenous Andean viewpoint—it cannot. Rather, it creates entry points through which to view these Indigenous textiles within the complex socio-political and socio-religious networks they inhabited, acted within, and were acted upon in a set context.

[4] Regarding the timeframe of Inka imperial expansion, I follow Gordon McEwan's text that notes 1476 as the date when the Inka ruler, Topa Inka Yupanki, defeated the last major rival impeding Inka control over the expanse of the Andes region. See Gordon F. McEwan, *The Incas: New Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC Clio, 2006), 44-46.

The questions I pursue about the pre-contact Inkas and vestiges of Inka culture in the colonial period aim to reach past the limitations that history has placed on certain media such as textiles. My scholarship aligns itself with efforts across various disciplines that seek to broaden discussion of which identities, materials, practices, and cultures receive representation and attention. In so far as my area of interest is Indigenous textiles that had great relevance within the power structure of one empire—that of the Indigenous Inkas—and then, to a degree, withstood the transition to a burgeoning new one—that of the Spanish—one of my aims is to elevate textiles as valuable archives that relay information and knowledge beyond what the written historical accounts transmit.

The experiences and cultural processes of Indigenous Andean inhabitants in the immediate aftermath of colonization were largely written by Europeans and contained in early colonial manuscripts (e.g. chronicles, testimonies, *visitas*, *relaciones*/*informaciones*, etc.), and were tailored to accommodate a Western audience's way of processing knowledge and interpreting the Andean environment. But "tailor" is perhaps a word that should be remarked upon. The written language was an outside form of record keeping and documentation that sought to give shape to and comprehension of a "New World" for the benefit of the colonizer. When imposed upon Indigenous Andean culture, furthermore, the written word was used to eclipse Native modes of processing knowledge and Native material traditions that played important roles in transferring history and culture. It is not that the colonizer ignored

the value of Indigenous textiles necessarily, but their density of content was not fully comprehended or was underestimated, or alternately feared and squarely rejected. Spaniards knew that textiles effectively "covered" the social space and social experience and they offered appreciative descriptions of the Andean weaving tradition and the skilled workmanship they encountered, yet textiles as materials that retained histories and values according to an Indigenous knowledge system are omitted in many ways from the historical record. Likewise, Indigenous textiles are often omitted from contemporary academic disciplines where record-keeping, documentation, representation, and visualizations of power form the basis of study. Yet the communicative value of textiles (among other Indigenous materialities) persists despite colonizing structures that have ever since favored other media. The following chapters pay heed to that communicative value and promote Indigenous Andean textiles as formats dense with embedded meaning that should be seen as akin to documents and that have something to say alongside the written word.

In my pursuit of questions of representation and documentation tied to Indigenous power structures of centuries ago and how these interfaced with colonial structures, my research draws from the work of scholars in the fields of art history, textile arts, archaeology, anthropology, history. The works of scholars from these fields are cited throughout the following chapters. My analysis skirts the edges of these disciplines as I convey how textiles carry value in a culturally dense manner, where design and aesthetic factors meet with socio-cultural, political, and economic factors as well as

with dynamics of the inhabited space and lived experience. By setting the study of certain textiles within a dense web of factors and different categories of value—including material, economic, communicative, experiential, animate, expressive value— this work aims to contribute to cross-disciplinary approaches within the scholarship of Indigenous textiles. Because textiles are a visual format, however, my research may be of particular interest to art historians invested in expanding the canon and redressing the lack of scholarly attention given to cultural producers outside the European framework and to mediums other than painting, sculpture, drawing/design. My focus on how pre-contact and colonial Indigenous textiles may express notions of physical space as well as interactions across ideological spaces, and that as such present an Inka worldview that informed their power structure, follows in the footsteps of numerous scholars who study non-traditional art historical or visual culture materials and processes. The scholars who precede me in their attention to different aspects of Andean visual and material culture and who have left various helpful markers along the path, guiding my own most recent research questions and angles of analysis include: Catherine Allen, Denise Y. Arnold, Susan Bergh, Tamara Bray, Thomas B.F. Cummins, Carolyn Dean, Penelope Dransart, Elvira Espejo Ayca, Teresa Gisbert, Mary Frame, George Lau, Anne Paul, Elena Phipps, Joanne Pillsbury, Ann Pollard Rowe, John Rowe, Gail Silverman, Frank Solomon, Maya Stanfield - Mazzi, Rebecca Stone, Gary Urton, R. Tom Zuidema, and more who are mentioned throughout the chapters.

Research Question

Textiles were highly valued in the Inka Empire as a medium through which power was visualized. Furthermore, for thousands of years prior to Inka rule, Andean textiles held communicative value in relation to community identity, marking how different groups saw themselves as against the "other." They have long been expressions of the Indigenous wearers' attachment to local environment and indices of identity within the greater space they traversed and have also long been critical links within exchange and social networks. The variety of motifs, surface design, materials, structural aspects, and color arrangements in Andean textiles are known to reference local geographies and agricultural processes. This is known to us through accounts given by Indigenous dwellers of the Andes today, expressed in a range of ways from informal conversations to ethnographies more formally recorded; the link between textiles and local space is also evident in earlier historical documentation, such as in the accounts of early colonial authors, of both Indigenous and European descent. My inquiry into how notions of space are made apparent in pre-contact Inka textiles has been spurred by the pointed historical process of colonization and how it summoned a crisis, to begin with, of how the Andean space, in terms of the physical landscape, would be transformed—particularly with respect to issues such as land claim, territoriality, and conceptualizations of those border areas across which bodies traversed.

From this premise, that textile visual and structural language contributed to an Inka visual rhetoric about physical space (i.e. landscape and people's relationship to the landscape, land claim, etc.), it is derived that textile language also contributed to expression and materialization of ideological space (i.e. incorporating Inka political, social, and/or religious interests). In some examples, textile motifs within an Inka and broader Andean textile tradition reference flora and fauna of local environs and even when they do not do so explicitly, textiles still hold room for implicit references to the lived environment. In their material and surface qualities, textiles elicit the physical, inhabited Andean space: their fibers, whether cotton or camelid, and the natural dyes that color their threads, are collected from physical, natural forms that occupy and articulate space across the surrounding region. In addition, textiles also carry layered symbolism that points to something beyond spatial understanding in physical or material relationships, alluding instead to those ideological spaces or cultural or spiritual spaces where more elusive human interactions and experiences are brought to bear. Textiles thus become a primary medium in Inka performances of seeing. Scholars like Constance Classen and Gabriela Siracusano point out, for example, how significant the ideology of light and sight/seeing was to the Inkas, and how through visible means and media they imposed an order and control over the chaos of nature. It is in this tangent that we can fathom how Inka textiles became a visual and material format for ordering the social and physical space.

To discuss Inka concepts of space, and by extension territorial border, I look at a class of Inka men's *unkus* (tunics) and Inka women's *llikllas* (mantles) produced according to imperial specifications and that converged with an elite textile category known as *qumpi. Qumpi* textiles were essentially regarded as the finest and most prestigious of garments. The Inkas achieved this caliber of cloth and defined its value through careful regulation of their laborers and an exigency of craft, controlling who produced these elite clothes and who wore them. *Qumpi* textiles were tools of communication for the Inkas and delivered content about Inka power and control over resources. From the textile samples that have survived in the archaeological record and that scholars assess as "*qumpi*," it is apparent that the Inkas standardized the production of these more prestigious textiles through structural, material, dimensional, and surface attributes.[5] Key *qumpi* textiles I will reference include the male *unku* type known as the "checkerboard" or *qullqapata* type and a female *lliklla* type associated with elite religious and state wear that adheres to standard colors and patterns. In these examples, as well as in other garment types associated with elite fabrication, my interest will rest on a motif that is often called *q'inqu,* or the "zigzag" motif. I explore the zigzag motif with regard to its symbolic associations and ask how its connotations enhance an understanding of Inka ideology of space and, specifically, the edges or borders of space in a territorial scope but that also grasps at ideological spaces. It is worth noting here that the *q'inqu* or zigzag motif as explored in this dissertation will

[5] John H Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," in *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference 19-20 May 1973* ed. Ann Pollard Rowe et al. (Washington DC: Textile Museum, 1979).

provide the more explicit, visual means through which I examine a particular facet of an Inka conceptualization of space: the power and value invested in spaces activated by interaction, exchange, and even volatile engagement. I will reference this in terms of a "relational" understanding or worldview, which is informed by a sense of the interrelatedness of parts and parties within social-cultural networks.

Thinking about textiles as metonyms for the Inka landscape and taking into account that the zigzag form is seen as an articulation at the borders and edges of certain textile spaces, we can evaluate it as part of an Inka ordering system attentive to how internal versus external interests and entities were conceptualized. As part of a consistent visual code that the Inkas deployed, forms such as the zigzag may have underscored the ambiguity of the "edge" of Inka territorial space even while making that ambiguity visible/material. This would give form and expression to the chaos of Inka expansion across multiple terrains and ethnic enclaves—a chaos or irrepressible energy that yet created order through the Inkas' acceptance of disorder and engagement *with* it. Through the zigzag, the Inkas visually and materially remark on the volatility of "edge" encounters as part of the dynamic of the Inka state or, to put it slightly differently, as part of what gave the Inka state its dynamism.[6]

[6] Susan Elizabeth Ramirez, "Negociando el imperio: el estado inca como culto," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andine*s, 37 (1) 2008: 9. The Inkas had under their political dominance more than 80 ethnic groups across their territories. Ramirez references Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," *in Handbook of South American Indians*: Vol. II, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1946) 186-92.

Approaching the Material

Visual and Sensorial Engagement

By looking at textiles as part of an Inka visual rhetoric of power through which they conveyed ideas of space and relationships between parts, we also invite questions of how viewing plays a role in the accretion of value. In writing about what can comprise the object domain in a visual culture analysis, Mieke Bal redirects the frame of study towards *practices of looking* such that we can understand visibility as a "practice, even a strategy, of selection," invariably tied to power and control over what is seen and how.[7] This angle of analysis squares visibility with perceptual modes but Bal's consideration of the perceptual act does not negate investment in the material, since she invites analysis that touches on the synaesthetic, or involving multiple senses. In this vein, the following chapters formulate how an Inka rhetoric of power was made visible, or perceived, but also very much *materialized* and mulitsensorially *experienced* through textiles. Woven garments seen at a distance may to a degree evade a tactile knowledge but in the pre-contact Inka context, where weaving was a feature in all aspects of the social life, seeing an elite textile surely brought with it a comprehension rooted in a literal "grasping" of what its qualities were. This might be evident, for example, in the minutiae of a garment's thread count or the embroidered features at its edges, which could encode something vaster than what we initially might perceive.

[7] Mieke Bal, "Visual Essentialism and the Object of Visual Culture," *Journal of Visual Culture* 2; 5 (2003): 11.

Here I insert an addendum to the note above regarding the Inkas' attention to light and sight. Classen also expands on this framing, arguing for giving credence to an Inka palate for multisensory dimensions/sensations. Classen states that the perceptual paradigms of Andean culture before and after Spanish incursion may have exalted the visual but that the aural dimension was also very important. (Hence the Inkas had the primary deity of the Sun, but Thunder was possibly as powerful to them.) Similarly, Gail Silverman in her analysis of the structures and motifs found in contemporary Indigenous textiles produced by the Q'ero communities in the department of Cusco, Peru, amplifies how we should assess textile value. She defines one of the more effective models for thinking about Andean textiles as being an expressive one that goes beyond optical perception and permits an appreciation of textiles in more dimensional, tactile, and even sentimental ways.[8] Textiles exhibit spatial, symbolic, and esoteric cultural notions that are not perceptible solely through the visual sense.[9] Keeping in mind these multisensorial and expressive approaches is highly relevant in any study or review of Indigenous textiles if we want to move closer to comprehending their layered significance in the Andean worldview.

Recognizing sensorial experience allows us to see how Inka textiles carried value in their material form in multifold ways, as objects not just of planar but of dimensional

[8] Gail P. Silverman, *The Signs of Empire, Inca Writing*, Vol.1 (Cusco: Editorial KopyGraf, 2012), 207.
[9] Ibid., 207-211.

import. They were transported, circulated, exchanged, felt, and seen throughout the pre-contact Andean space and also across temporal landscapes—entering the sphere of one's reality from infancy (in the fabrics that may wrap around the cradle or swaddle the baby), through the various social milestones (such as the exchange of textiles at wedding ceremonies) and lastly, at death (as seen in various cultures' burial practices involving ritual clothing). As the anthropologist John Murra aptly stated, for the Inkas textiles "[emerge] as the main ceremonial good and, on the personal level, the preferred gift, highlighting all crisis points in the life cycle and providing otherwise unavailable insights to the reciprocal relations of kinfolk."[10]

Methods of Encountering Borders: The Relational and "*Tinku*"

In the West we may tend to see borders that emphasize separation, distinction, division, etc. as necessary facets of an orderly social space. In discussing ideas of the "edge" in relation to social order and political power, Western legal scholar Carl Schmitt writes that it is "fences, enclosures, boundaries, walls, [and] houses delineated on the solid earth that give order and orientation to human social life and make forms of ownership and power visible."[11] His formulation suggests that edges are equated with delineation and obtrusive material markings on land, which produce visible power or ownership.[12] Literature scholar Carroll Clarkson critiques this model,

[10] John V. Murra, "Cloth and Its Functions in the Inca State," American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Aug. 1962), 712.
[11] Carl Schmitt, *Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of Jus Publicum Europeaum*, trans. G.L. Ulman (New York: Telos Press Publishing, 2003), 42.
[12] The way in which possession of land was conceptualized by Europeans, broadly, had its roots in Roman law that allocated value in how physical presence as well as intention could determine

however, questioning whether edge spaces or "boundaries" are indexed through "spatial certainty."[13] She moves towards the usage of "border," which may be a more expansive term and she offers an appealing notion of an "aesthetics of border." She discusses "aesthetics" not in terms of the study of "the beautiful," however, but in terms of "aesthesis," which refers to knowledge and felt experience gained through the senses.[14] Clarkson points to Heidegger's ideas on *"rift"* (or to "*draw out,"* in other words "*design"*) with regard to creative processes, applying it also to the idea of borders. Heidegger illuminates the question of *what* it is that mark-making actually materializes. He constructs "rift" or "design" as that which "*puts into relation* what is simultaneously separated and joined on either side of [it]" –and Clarkson takes this idea of the "*riss"* or "rift" as a mark that puts things—things on either side of the mark—"in relation" to one another as she considers the idea of border.[15] Within this Western framing, "putting into relation" as applied to border concepts highlights how something that has the potential to separate can also be something that joins. That is,

ownership, or mark "territory as one's own." See Patricia Seed, Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing the Authority of Overseas Empires," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. XLIX, No. 2, 1 (Apr 1992): 189-204. Seed notes that in the British colonizing project, for example, possession would rest significantly on settlement and focusing attention on residing or inhabiting the "soyle," establishing ownership thus; in contrast, in the case of the Spanish colonizers, early acts of possession were "culturally distinctive," manifesting claim in more symbolic ways, such as through the act of speech known as the *Requerimiento* but also through the placement of visual markers, such as the placement of crosses on the land. In this respect, with the Spanish, from early on we also see the degree to which claim to land was a claim to people as well and, furthermore, to the conversion of people.

[13] Carroll Clarkson, *Drawing the Line: Toward an Aesthetic of Transitional Justice (Just Ideas)* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 35.

[14] Ibid., 2.

[15] Ibid., 35.

it can be a productive space as opposed to, as Schmitt would imply, something static and conclusive in its materialization.

Writing about the "logic of borders," Irit Rogoff also critiques the notion of borders as spaces of rift or division. She questions the idea that a border can effectively create distinct spaces of one side exclusive of another, regardless of the "manifestations of border" that may be brought forward, e.g. fortifications, surveillance mechanisms, partitions.[16] According to Rogoff, "the border is not really there...it is a voided entity overladen with meaning and ungraspable."[17] Instead, Rogoff is more interested in the idea, gleaned from Deleuze, of border as "shifting lines," turning away from border *as division that separates* and towards an idea of "thresholds" that allow *passage* or *movement* from one place to another.[18] Within Western discourse, Clarkson and Rogoff present thus two ways that resonate with this dissertation's inquiry into borders: thinking of borders in terms of *relational* interactions and in terms of the experience of *movement across* spaces. Furthermore, there is an invocation of the sensorial in that one can understand border spaces as relational spaces that are *experienced* through the multiplicity of the senses.[19]

---

[16] Irit Rogoff*, Terra Infirma: Geographies Visual Culture*, (London, New York : Routledge, 2000), 113-4.
[17] Ibid 113.
[18] Ibid, 116
[19] Clarkson, 5. The author also mentions Ranciere's idea of "distribution of the sensible" regarding the delimitations that define and politics as "partition of what is common." Clarkson is interested in ways in "which a world of sensory perception is partitioned and shared within a social structure. For Ranciere, the distribution of the sensible [as] a way of dividing up the world, and people...is a partitioning that separates and excludes as much as it creates certain spaces for participation. For Ranciere aesthetics and politics are intricately intertwined.

These Western modes of thinking through the idea of "border" drew my interest as I developed my writing on Inka notions of spaces (both physical and ideological) and border areas because they resonate with an Andean worldview wherein certain types of in-between zones that overlap with ideas of border or nexus areas are also seen as expressive of productive "joining." Characterizing borders/border spaces as "relational" makes sense in the Andes, where emphasis on interaction and conjoining between oppositional entities, forms, places, is a mainstay of an Andean value system. Touching on this notion of the relational, the more resonant framework through which we can think about "threshold" borders in the Andes would be *tinku.* This word also brings with it connotations of dynamic encounter that I pose with regard to Andean space(s), in the sense of a "volatility" in edge spaces. *Tinku* is a Quechua term that has different iterations but that broadly applies to "points of convergence," or the idea of where and how entities and forms and energies may "meet" or move across nexus points. It is often applied to natural convergences, such as when two rivers meet and the force of two currents converge, sometimes violently. Or it may be recognized in the threshold spaces such as natural springs or mountain summits where different planes and elements converge. Springs and mountain peaks, for example, would express *tinku* in their characterization as axes mundi or points of

passage where different cosmic zones meet, and "where energy [flow] between different levels of the world" may bring about transformation.[20]

Encompassing a discourse that includes nexus, convergence, sites of transformation, and *tinku*, brings us into the conceptual vicinity of concepts like *border*, *limit*, *edge*, *margin*. Another way to think through this might be to consider "inbetweenness" in a way that upends the idea of borders as sites of certain division and dichotomy. Paul Basu discusses "inbetweenness" in terms of *things* that gain meaning through movement and mediation but also "inbetweenness" as a *consciousness* or *process* allowing for continual reinscription of meaning and new relational understanding.[21] This gives more attention to the middle space—valuing ambiguity and entanglements rather than paying undue heed to sharp edges and outlines, which, if formulated to seek division, can limit how we think about how space is occupied, created, and traversed.

These factors—relationality, inbetweenness—are notions I suggest would have been compatible to how the Inkas of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw the borders between "Inka" and the "other," or "non-Inka." Borders may not have been thought of in terms of edges and demarcated lines but more in terms of dynamic areas

[20] John Topic, "Final Reflections: Catequil as One Wak'a among Many," in The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes, ed. Tamara Bray (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2015), 380.
[21] Paul Basu, *The Inbetweenness of Things: Materializing Mediation and Movement between Worlds,* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 2-6.

that were potent and pulsing. The suggestion is that the border becomes a space most enriched when it is recognized and accepted as a volatile one. This accentuates how we can understand the Andean notion of *tinku* and the type of relationality that it exercises. The proposition is that the Inkas seemed comfortable with dynamic energy that could take on volatile aspects and, likewise, with spaces of volatile convergence at the margins, and this was made evident in their visual culture such as in their elite textiles.[22]

Resources/Media

The visual sources I primarily rely on to shape my argument regarding Inka textiles as visualizations of spaces (both physical and ideological) and of border areas include actual textiles in various museum collections and as represented in imagery from the colonial period. I draw from the representational works of the early colonial Indigenous author and illustrator, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, and, also, a late eighteenth-century colonial Andean painting created by an "anonymous Cuzqueño" artist. The Guaman Poma images are available through the Royal Library of Denmark's online database and the anonymous colonial era painting is held at the Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI) in Peru.[23] Some of the Andean textiles I have

[22] For discussion of concepts of margins, see Mary Douglas's *Purity and Danger*: *An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo,* (London: Routledge, 2015), ch.6.

[23] This dissertation references Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (Guaman Poma) throughout as the legitimate author and illustrator of the unpublished manuscript titled *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, dated to 1615. My attention to Guaman Poma as the sole producer of the text and illustration components of the manuscript sides with the position of scholars such as Rolena Adorno, R. Tom Zuidema, Sabine Hyland, Juan Ossio, Ivan Boserup, Mette Kia Krebe Meyer, among others, who uphold his role as author/illustrator as opposed to other hypotheses, namely the one suggested by

sourced I have been able to study in person and others have only been available to me through online access. When I have seen them in person, I have been able to review some of the technical features that would have had particular value within the Indigenous ambit, although not all structural aspects are accessible even on close inspection.

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's imagery that describes Inka textiles is significantly helpful in putting forward an argument for relating textiles to notions of landscape and the borders of territorial space. Guaman Poma was an author and illustrator of Indigenous Yarovilca ancestry from Huánuco, Peru, who produced a hefty manuscript of over 1000 pages, including 397 illustrations, in which he documented a history of the Inkas' rule before the arrival of the Spanish as well as accounts and aspects of colonial governance over the Andes after the fall of the Inka empire. His text, *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, includes biographies of the Inka kings and queens and discusses different events, ceremonies, and aspects of daily life (including cultural practices, economic activities, political roles, etc.) that shaped the Andean space prior to his lifetime and then during it. His tome was a testimony of Andean

---

the Miccinelli manuscripts brought forward in academic circles in the 1990s which poses that the mestizo Jesuit priest and chronicler, Blas Valera (b.1545 in Chachapoyas, Peru), was responsible for the *Nueva Corónica* manuscript and not Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. For more consideration of the authorship of this critical early colonial manuscript and the dubious grounds on which dispute of Guaman Poma's role with regard to it are suggested (vis a vis the Miccinelli manuscripts), see Ivan Boserup and Mette Kia Krebe Meyer's "The Illustrated Contract between Guaman Poma and the Friends of Blas Valera: A Key Miccinelli Manucript discovered in 1998," in *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guaman Poma and His Nueva Corónica,* edited by Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup (Copenhagen: The Royal Library Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015) 19-64.

right to self-rule, negating Spanish conquest, and was a plea, in effect, meant for the eyes of Spain's King Felipe III. Guaman Poma's drawings have been important to my study for their portrayal of Inka textile garments, and for providing compositions that imagined how certain textiles would have been used, interacted with, and circulated within the Andean space, contributing to a way we would want to think of these garments—as materials and objects experienced dimensionally, in contexts of use, exchange, power, and so on.

The anonymous Cuzqueño painting of Doña Manuela Tupa Amaru was painted in the late eighteenth century and belonged to her heirs. The image of her was painted over, likely in the 1780s, and remained hidden until it was uncovered by the collector Francisco Stastny in the 1970s.[24] He had it restored and then it underwent a second restoration through the Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), which now holds the painting in its collection. The two restorations revealed a rendering of a Native woman of noble status wearing garments that associated her both with Andean and Spanish culture. The image is impactful for the composure of its portrait subject and also with regard to how strongly her Native identity comes through in her textile garments, which dominate the center of the composition. While aspects of her dress reflect Spanish colonial life, the main forms are the textile *lliklla* (mantle) and *aksu* (a variant was "*anaku"*) (gown) that anchor her in place. Because it was part of a larger collection that included paintings that were known to be used in court legal disputes,

[24] Maribel de Paz, "El cuadro que volvió a nacer," *El Comercio* (Lima) 2 de Agosto, 2015.

this portrait and the Indigenous textiles represented in it perhaps also enter a legal discourse where a visual—and even a woven—vocabulary have a voice. Furthermore, in the details of the *aksu* the sitter wears, we may be able to decipher a more specific communicative value.

Chapter Abstracts

Chapter 1: Threshold Spaces: Borders in Textiles, in Time

Chapter 1 introduces the subject of Indigenous Andean textiles and Inka notions of space within a discourse of landscape and questions about the "edges" of land, territory. The chapter argues that certain Indigenous textiles and their "edge" or "border" characteristics can be valuable sources for thinking through concepts of border as applied to various arenas of Andean life. The chapter also touches on the concept of materialization of power and of relationships as seen in the spiritual entities or forms known as *wak'as*, but does so in order to bring the focus back to textiles. A few textile examples from across Andean history are brought up to elucidate how the textile form and the weaving process are often conceptualized and described in ways that suggest they materialize notions of the landscape and land practices and also other types of spatial understanding. The chapter stresses, furthermore, the importance of relational frameworks in Inka and broader Andean culture.

Chapter 2: Bordering on Chaos: Order and the Virtues of Volatility in the Inka Empire

Chapter 2 reviews textiles as a medium that could transmit for the Inkas ideas and experiences of the lived space or environment— through their material and formal and design qualities— and that as such served as metonyms for Inka territory. It looks at how an ideology of landscape, and specifically of notions of border as fluid and volatile, was transmitted through the visual rhetoric of textiles during Inka rule There are different versions of how the Inkas expanded into an empire and how they determined continuity of reign from within their ranks but it is clear that a critical element of their success as a state was the necessary, constant expansion of their territory.[25] As a main focus, the chapter looks at the *q'inqu* or zigzag motif seen along the edges of certain elite male garments (*unkus*, or tunics), and opens a discussion about how the zigzag may be an expression of transformation and volatility at the edge of a larger space, that of Inka territory more generally. The underlying premise here is that textiles showcase how, for the Inkas, border areas are inherently active

[25] See Brian S. Bauer and Alan Covey, "Processes of State Formation in the Inca Heartland (Cuzco, Peru)," *American Anthropologist* 104 (3) (September 2002): 849. The authors shy away from the gloss that the 9th Inka ruler, Pachakuti, and his son Tupaq Yupanki, were the main propellers of empire and instead argue that the ethnic group's expansion was based on more drawn out processes. The question of how power was passed on from one ruler to the next is also debated. Maria Rostworowski notes that primogeniture was not the default practice and rather that ability, or "fitness," and military acumen may have been more relevant factors. See María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco and John V. Murra, "Succession, Cooption to Kingship, and Royal Incest among the Inca," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol.16, No.4 (Winter 1960): 419-21. The authors reference Cobo, Toledo, Santillán, Las Casas, on this and also Inca Garcilaso's comments regarding variety of inheritance customs in the Andes in the pre-Inka phase. It is suggested that because inheritance of kingship was not de facto that the death of an Inka ruler could unleash chaos among the vying political interests; for this reason, the reigning Sapa Inka may have brought on his chosen successor to rule alongside him (cooption), to make transition smoother.

zones where exchange between interior and exterior interests is to be expected and perhaps even integrated into a state ideology of productive tension—as if the flux boundary space energizes the state's territorial extremities. The chapter develops its argument by pointing mainly to Inka textiles and also to representations of Inka textiles sourced in the work of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala.

Chapter 3: Tracing Empire: Women as Power Players, Alliance Makers, and Border Figures in Inka Territoriality

Chapter 3 expands on chapter 2's discussion of how an Inka ideology of space played out in male textile garments by bridging to how the Inkas expressed the relationship between textiles, the inhabited space, and ideas of border through women—namely through women's roles as weavers (the *akllakuna*) and through their bodies as tribute subjects. Conscripted to serve the state in ways that essentially made visible Inka control over outside communities and their resources, *akllas* were an expression of the Inka body politic. The chapter points to examples of textiles associated with women's wear that are legible within an Inka discourse of conquest closely interlaced with women's roles wherein women visualized Inka claim to new territories. In the textiles and representations of textiles reviewed in this chapter, the zigzag motif as discussed in chapter 2 resurfaces now in connection to women's wear. In historical contexts as well as in more recent ethnographies of the Andes there are many examples of women's textiles charting, in a manner, ideas of agricultural production or other processes that would link a textile to aspects of the productive

landscape.[26] The allusion to agricultural goods and natural resources in textiles summons the notion that textiles at some point in the past may have been able to speak—in more vivid ways than we can appreciate today— to land issues such as claim to land, or by extension, notions of territorial edges. The chapter touches on both noble women and women laborers within the Inka power structure and how textiles were incorporated into these identities.

Chapter 4: Media that Mediates: Textiles and Texts in the Colonial Space

Chapter 4 pursues the question of how Indigenous inhabitants responded to and experienced complex shifts within the Andean space during colonization and how this comes across through textiles and representations of textiles in painted or drawn imagery. It discusses how if in the pre-contact context both men's and women's woven garments were able to express a wearer's place of origin or extended notions of land use and border spaces or territorial edges, then it is likely these messages carried into the post-contact period. Because Indigenous textiles were heavily invested with communicative meaning in the pre-contact period, it is plausible that this continued into the colonial period and that a visual rhetoric of textiles exercised an Andean relationship to space, particularly to the inhabited space

[26] For example, Christine R. Franquemont, writes about *pallays* in the community of Chinchero, commenting on well-known motifs of the area, such as the *loraypo* and the *kutij* forms which have implications of agricultural processes. See Christine R. Franquemont, "Chinchero Pallays: An Ethnic Code," in *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 331. In her ethnographic work with the contemporary Q'ero community near Cusco, Peru, Gail Silverman writes about the semiology of textiles and how certain motifs encode ideas about agricultural practices and natural processes. See Gail Silverman, "La Escritura Inca: La Representación Geométrica del Quechua Precolombino," *Ex Novo*, (2011): 43-44.

within the context of early colonial territorial dispossession. Looking at illustrations from Guaman Poma's chronicle, as well as colonial-era textiles, as well as late colonial portraiture, the text here considers how Indigenous textiles continued to reflect Andeans' relationship to their landscape and to notions of land claim and border spaces after the Inka imperial territory was disassembled. Pre-contact Andean culture had no use for developing a written language and so systems of visual code, such as textiles, were factors in how Andeans communicated their attachment to land. After the Spanish invaded the region in the sixteenth century and began altering the social and physical space through colonizing efforts into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the meanings embedded in Indigenous textiles were not unraveled. To different degrees, Indigenous textiles retained and, in some contexts, amplified their communicative value. This chapter posits that we can look to Indigenous textiles as a means through which Indigenous inhabitants comprehended and communicated their understanding of the changes affecting their inhabited space even as they were being displaced by Spanish authority. It considers the possibilities that certain motifs on colonial era Indigenous textiles and ascertained in colonial representations of textiles helped convey Indigenous authority in ways that would have had significant meaning to elite Andeans, namely in associations with a past defined by autochthonous Andean (Inka) rulership and in connotations of Indigenous access to (their) land.

By looking at materiality and at the visual culture objects that articulated identity in the flux of the colonized space, my suggestion is that textiles disrupted and even stretched the idea of defined borders by being "threshold" objects that refused to stand still under the scrutiny of a colonizing eye.

Resources/Media

My study of textiles belonging to the Inka pre-contact phase as well as of the colonial era when Inka presence and identity was still felt has relied on generous funding and fellowships sponsored by various institutions, including: the University of California, Santa Cruz (Arts Dean Fund, the Chicano Latino Research Center, the History of Art and Visual Culture department); the Linda S. Cordell Memorial Research Fellowship (Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology); the Betty J. Meggers Grant for South America (Americas Research Network); the Walter Read Hovey Memorial Fund (Pittsburgh Foundation); the John Carter Brown Library (Brown University); the Thoma Foundation Grant at the Blanton Museum (University of Texas, Austin); the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad fellowship.

Through these fellowships I have been able to source and study colonial documents and pre-contact and colonial textiles in the U.S. and Peru. The libraries, archives, and textile collections I have had access to for relevant study include: the Library of Congress, in Washington D.C., the John Carter Brown Library; the University of

Texas, Austin's Benson Latin American Collection and the visiting Thoma Collection at the Blanton Museum there; the Textile Museum at George Washington University, and the Museum of Fine Arts, in Boston. When my research took me to Peru, I had the opportunity to visit a few different resources that were pertinent to this dissertation's scope. South of Lima, Peru, I visited the Museo de Sitio in Paracas and the Museo Pachacamac. In Lima, Peru, I visited the Museo Larco, the Museo Amano, the Museo Pedro de Osma, and the Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI). In Cusco, I was able to visit the Museo Precolombino, the Museo del Inka, and the Museo Santa Catalina. Important archival sources for me included the Archivo Regional de Cusco and the Archivo del Arzobispado del Cusco; the Archivo General de la Nación and the Archivo Arzobispal in Lima. Colonial documents I reviewed in Cusco and which gave insight into social and political life in the Colonial Andes spanned categories such as Sección de Cabildo or Council files that included criminal and civil cases, Sección Corregimiento or Township Administrative files that included administrative issues, legal requests/petitions, Protocolos Notariales that included notary records bridging numerous subject areas. Colonial documents I reviewed in Lima included also Cabildo/council files, files from the Real Audiencia or Juridical branch/ appellate court of the colony, Protocolos Notariales/notary documents and files related to Jesuit missions, or the Compañía de Jesus.

A major archival source that I had access to solely online is that of the Denmark Royal Library, which holds in its fully accessible online database the manuscript of

the early seventeenth century Indigenous Andean author and illustrator Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala titled *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*. This Indigenous chronicler's imagery and text have been great resources for me throughout my research into Andean visual culture. With respect to my focus on textiles, Guaman Poma's work is pivotal. His description of Inka textiles is significantly helpful in putting forward an argument for relating textiles to notions of landscape and the borders of territorial space. As an Indigenous author and illustrator who produced a hefty manuscript of over 1000 pages, including 397 illustrations, his viewpoint is instrumental to gaining a fuller understanding of the colonial socio-political space amidst the plethora of Spanish chronicles and records. Guaman Poma's manuscript documented a history of the Inkas' rule before the arrival of the Spanish as well as accounts and aspects of colonial governance over the Andes after the fall of the Inka empire. His text includes biographies of the Inka kings and queens and discusses different events, ceremonies, and aspects of daily life (including cultural practices, economic activities, political roles, etc.) that shaped the Andean space prior to his lifetime and then during it. His tome was a testimony of Andean right to self-rule, negating Spanish conquest, and was a plea, in effect, meant for the eyes of Spain's King Felipe III. His work is valuable for offering multiple ways in which history can be made "legible." His introduction of imagery into a textual argument and narrative amplifies how we can interpret history. In his careful depictions of Indigenous textiles of the pre-contact and early colonial periods, furthermore, he also suggests that textiles are part of a communicative discourse. The

colonial space was one that was in the process of absorbing a culture that had had no reliance on the written word. If the written word was a type of technology of the colonial state, weaving was its own technology carried over from a pre-contact state and forced into the new paradigm of a foreign power. Guaman Poma's work aids us in deciphering this older technology's encoded significance.

The Underlying Matrix: The Rich Textile Language of the Andes

While the interest of this dissertation rests largely on textile examples from the Inka culture and from the colonial context with a still-resonant Inka imprint, Inka textiles drew from a vast and rich history of textile production that spanned both coastal and inland traditions, and lowland and highland characteristics.[27] It is therefore valuable to sketch out a history of textile production in the region to set the scene for the chapters that follow.

The manipulation of various natural fibers that can be logged within the category of Andean textile technology is in evidence as early as 5,000 years ago. Developing over millennia, the fundamental or structural aspects of weaving have contributed so

[27] Textile processes and particular design or surface aspects of various early Andean cultures spanning millennia—such as Chavín, Pucara/Pukara, Nasca, Tiwanaku, Wari—are relevant to appreciating how the later Inkas arrived at their highly specialized weaving practices. William J. Conklin writes about early textile practices at Chavín de Huantar, for example, that suggest the introduction of technical innovations, such as use of pigments /paints for the creation of designs (versus broad, decorative swatches) in textiles, and introduction of supplemental threads in weaving, as well as early examples of camelid fibers employed during this Early Horizon cultural phase; he also frames his study with regard to how widespread a notable Chavín "style" became across vast areas of the Andes. William J. Conklin, "The Revolutionary Weaving Inventions of the Early Horizon," in *Ñawpa Pacha: Journal of Andean Archaeology*, No. 16 (1978): 1-12).

significantly to an Andean worldview that it is paramount to take them into account. An extensive discussion of weaving technique and technical terms would, however, take this discussion off course. I encourage the reader to consult the Appendix, which offers some definitions, descriptions, and explanations regarding weaving technology. Going forward, in my reference to textile practice as "technology," particularly as understood through studies illuminating the cultural and social contexts in which textiles were produced, I defer to Denise Y. Arnold and Elvira Espejo Ayca, who have written comprehensive studies of textile practices and experiences among the Aymara "communities of weaving practice" in contemporary Bolivia.[28] They write of weaving "technology" as incorporating a sense of not only the practices and knowledge developed in a region over time that produce material artifacts, but also "technology" as it would comprise an intricate assembly of social relations generated through productive activities that link weavers and the materials they weave to one another, to individuals, to families, to the larger community, or *ayllu*, and also to the material and natural world.[29] They emphasize that it is through social relations that weaving accumulates its value and meaning and I try to keep this in mind when thinking about textile value.

[28] See Elvira Espejo Ayca and Denise Y Arnold, *El Textil Tridimensional: La Naturaleza del Tejido Como Objeto y Como Sujeto; Serie Informes de Investigación II,* No. 8 (La Paz: Fundación Xavier Albó and Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara, 2013), 28. See also Denise Y Arnold, "Making Textiles into Persons: Gestural Sequences and Relationality in Communities of Weaving Practice of the South Central Andes," *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 23, Issue 2 (2018).
[29] Elvira Espejo Ayca and Denise Y Arnold, *El Textil Tridimensional: La Naturaleza del Tejido Como Objeto y Como Sujeto; Serie Informes de Investigación II,* No. 8 (La Paz: Fundación Xavier Albó and Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara, 2013), 28.

The embedded value of weaving within social relationships and networks is brought forward, too, when we consider that the production of fishing nets, bags, blankets and other fiber objects for daily use predates the production of ceramics in the coastal and highland regions of the Andes—an anomaly among other cultures and geographies.[30] While the earliest fiber objects would have been composed with undomesticated reed or plant fibers, there is evidence of cotton domestication in the coastal regions as early as 2,500 BCE.[31] At the site of La Galgada in the canyon region of the Tablachaca River Valley in northern Peru, archaeologists unearthed a variety of fiber objects made as far back as 3,000 BCE that showcase different textile techniques such as looping (for bags), weft-twining (blankets), netting, knotted looping, and interlacing and, closer to 2,000 BCE, loom-based weaving.[32] At Guitarrero, further south from La Galgada, in the Callejón de Huaylas area of the north central Andean highlands, there are even earlier examples of textiles composed of fiber twining and cordage, discussed in scholarship by Thomas F. Lynch (Cornell University) et al., with an antiquity of as early as 10,000 BCE.[33] Adovasio and Lynch discuss how

---

[30] Cesar Paternosto, *The Stone and the Thread: Andean Roots of Abstract Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 163. The author references Junius B. Bird's excavations at Huaca Prieta in Peru's Chicama Valley, where textiles as old as between 3,000 and 2500 BCE were found—or about 1,000 years older than the development of pottery in the region.

[31] James Vreeland, "Ancient Andean Textiles: Clothes for the Dead," *Archaeological Institute of America*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (May 1977): 170.

[32] Terence Grieder and Alberto Bueno Mendoza, "La Galgada: Peru Before Pottery," *Archaeology*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (March/April 1981): 48-49. Also see Raoul D'Harcourt, *Ancient Peruvian Textiles and Their Techniques* [Les textiles anciens du Pérou et leurs techniques], eds. Grace G. Denny, Carolyn M. Osborne, trans. Sadie Brown (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974). D'Harcourt focuses on various textile techniques and provides examples from across cultures and time periods, laying out the intricate knowledge and variety of textile practices that have defined Andean weaving across centuries, including later processes such as tapestry weave, brocading, embroideries, fringes, tassels, gauzes.

[33] Edward A. Jolie, Thomas F. Lynch, Phil R. Geib, J.M. Adovasio, "Cordage, Textiles, and the Late Pleistocene Peopling of the Andes," *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (April 2011): 287.

twining, spiral interlinking, and cross-knit looping, found in evidence at early sites like Guitarrero Cave, are among the earliest techniques developed in the Andes and provided the basis for later, more complex weaving technologies.[34] The archeological evidence points to fabric-making technologies developing alongside the social and economic practices of hunting and gathering people.[35] That there has historically been a sympathetic relationship between weaving practices and migratory or non-sedentary practices is interesting to note with regard to the later Inka Empire and their investment in pastoralist traditions and also with the way in which the value of textiles—and their employ in state practices— was visualized through their circulation and movement within the Andean landscape.

Various felting, twining, interlacing, and then the more elaborate weaving processes have served numerous functional purposes in Andean culture over millennia. In earlier periods fiber technologies sustained an Andean way of life by providing tools to hunt and fish (e.g. netting and slings) and garments to guard against the weather. While in the Andes the most widespread type of weaving over time and across social strata and cultural groups is backstrap weaving, which depends on the human body's movement to create the necessary tension in the vertical threads, fabrics produced through loom weaving are the primary interest throughout this dissertation. Loom weaving entails vertical yarns held taut through a framing structure (often wood),

[34] James M. Adovasio and Thomas F. Lynch, "Preceramic Textiles and Cordage from Guitarrero Cave, Peru," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 38, No.1 (Jan. 1973): 84-90.
[35] Vreeland, 166-178.

with horizontal yarns that cross/interlace with these to form a matrix. Loom weaving technology in the Andes progressed slowly at first, with woven fabrics limited to fairly narrow size (under a foot in width) and to plain cloth (the basic weaving structure of vertical and horizontal threads crossing at right angles in simple over-under movement).[36] The early technology was also limited in its design potential; it was not until the development of tapestry in the first millennium CE (in which weft/horizontal threads dominate the structure, resulting in a weft-faced fabric), that we see loom-made fabrics with intricate colors and patterns woven *into* the structures themselves (as opposed to painted on).[37]

The textiles belonging to the tradition of elite Inka weaving process that are referenced in this dissertation were most likely completed on upright looms structured by wood bars at the sides and at top and bottom. The Inka textiles referred to in the following chapters would have been recognized as "elite" textiles that required more specialized and standardized manufacture, which a loom structure (rather than a

[36] Grieder and Mendoza, 49.
[37] Ibid., 50. Scholars like Max Uhle, Julio Tello, Junius B. Bird provided foundational studies on early Andean cultures through presentation and/or examination of early textile samples found at sites such as Pachacamac, Chimu Capac (Supe Valley, central Peruvian coast), Huaca Prieta, Paracas. For example, see Junius Bird, *Paracas Fabrics and Nazca Needlework, 3rd Century BC-3rd Century AD* (Washington DC: The Textile Musuem, 1954); Junius Bird and Wendell C. Bennett, *Andean Culture History, Handbook Series*, No.15 (New York: American Museum of Natural History) 1964; Julio C. Tello, *Paracas*, (Lima: Empresa Gráfica) 1959; Julio Tello and Toribio Mejia Xesspe, Paracas *Segunda Parte: Cavernas y Necropolis* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1979); Max Uhle, "Notes on Ica valley," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 21, no. 3, Appendix B (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1924): 123-27; Max Uhle, "Report on explorations at Supe," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 21, no. 6 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1925).

backstrap structure) could provide. The archaeological record has surfaced greater quantity of examples of the elite variety and production of cloth, which has to a great extent defined our understanding of textile value among the Inkas and other Andean cultures prior. In correspondence, the dearth in the material and textile record limits how much we can know about how Andean inhabitants outside the upper social strata expressed or identified their political, social, and spatial realities through the textile medium. A wider understanding of how textiles are integrated across social classes in the Andes comes thus from contemporary ethnographic studies in the region. Regarding the Inka empire, having more textile examples from non-elite contexts would help us better comprehend how elite and state power expressed in textiles articulated certain meaning over others. Nonetheless, what we do have available allows for analysis, particularly in the cases where there are repeated or standardized types of garments or motifs that have been contextualized to a degree.

This dissertation thus rests on what we *do* have available to us and, in extension, posits that Indigenous-crafted materials such as textiles *can say* something that engages particularly with our treatment of history and how we regard history or account for history. Inka elites of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries used certain textiles as indices of identity that registered value and status to viewers but also used textiles to make material and evident how they understood certain relationships in spatial terms. They used textiles to express relationships that existed in physical terms but also that existed across socio-cultural or spiritual networks.

With particular attention to textile borders, I discuss how the Inkas visualized border spaces as volatile but productive. Textile border areas may be seen as expressions of elusive ontological border areas; for example, those spaces that existed between natural and supernatural entities or that divided one cultural reality from another. Alternately, textile borders may be expressions of larger physical border areas, such as the spaces that existed between enemy territory. In this, I suggest the Inkas saw borders as fruitful places of encounter and engagement rather than as areas of separation and enclosure.

Examining textiles as media through which the Inkas materialized notions of space and border, I situate Indigenous textiles as valuable archives that relay information and knowledge beyond what written accounts transmit. After Spanish invasion, Inka history was mostly recorded through the colonizing power's documentary means. The written word was assumed to be the authoritative language of history. Yet, the material format of Indigenous Andean textiles has long been understood to carry embedded meaning and, specifically in relation to ideas of space, has been recognized as deeply entwined within a discourse of landscape and land use. My dissertation finds its impetus here, therefore, asking how we can use textiles to think historically about Indigenous ways of inhabiting space and negotiating changes and interactions across space. I conclude that we *can* use textiles as communicative modes that complement histories told in the colonizer's mode, providing an understanding of the pre-contact Andean space even within, for example, discourses of territoriality.

Chapter One

Threshold Spaces: Borders in Textiles, in Time

This chapter discusses the value of interactive, relational frameworks in an Indigenous Andean worldview and how relationships are made material through forms such as *wak'as* and, significantly, textiles. To put into perspective how the Inkas used textiles to express aspects of the inhabited space, I look at various textile examples across Andean history wherein the fabric space—and particularly references to border areas and articulation of borders in this space—suggests a materialization of religious, socio-political, and/or territorial relationships.

The Inkas Emerge

The Inkas rose to imperial power in the Central Andes during what is called the Late Horizon (c.1476-1532 CE).[38] Like other Andean powers before them who also had significant impact across political, cultural, and physical landscapes, the Inkas linked their identity to the land, investing it with presence and symbolic meaning that could not be disassociated from who they were. The shaping of an Inka

[38] 1476 marks the year that the tenth Inka ruler, Topa Inka Yupanki, led the Inkas to defeat the Chimú empire, who presided over regions to the north of present-day Lima. It signals the beginning of what archaeologists term the Late Horizon period, during which the Inkas established themselves as an imperial power. Topa Inka's military campaigns to the north and south of the Cusco region (where his father, Pachakuti Inka, had first set in motion Inka imperialist ambitions) meant that Inka control by 1476 had expanded to stretch across most of South America's western edge. Territories further north would be added by Topa Inka's successor, Wayna Qapaq. The end of the Late Horizon period is defined by the Spanish invasion of the region and their capture of the last autonomous contender to the Inka throne, Atawallpa, in 1532. See Gordon F. McEwan, *The Incas: New Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC Clio, 2006), 44-46 and 204.

"landscape" begins with the Inka origin account, one version of which has the royal Inka forefathers and foremothers emerging from one of three caves at a place called Pacariqtambo, south of their eventual capital Cusco. Juan de Betanzos, a Spanish chronicler of the mid-1500s who became fluent in the Quechua language of the Inkas, wrote one version of the oral account of Inka origins given to him by Inka nobles living in the Cusco area after the Spanish invaded the region. Betanzos was, in fact, privy to a lot of the histories relayed by the Inka nobility because he married a young woman named *Cuxirimay Ocllo* (later baptized Angelina), who was an Inka princess, a cousin and wife of the executed Inka ruler *Atawallpa*.[39] Betanzos's retelling includes some noteworthy details that bring forward how closely the Inka forebears linked themselves to the landscape as well as how attentive they were to their textile garments:

> "After this cave opened up, four men came out with their wives in the following order. The first one, called Ayar Cache came out with his wife, who was named Mama Guaço. After him another, called Ayar Oche, came out and after him his wife, named Cura. After this one, another came out, called Ayar Auca, with his wife, named Ragua Ocllo. After these came another, called Ayar Manco, whom they later

[39] There were various different histories told with regard to, for example, the dynastic lineages of the Inka ruling class so that to say a "single" history was accepted across the board would be inaccurate. See R. T. Zuidema's "Hierarchy and Space in Incaic Social Organization," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Spring, 1983) 50-51, for more on how certain histories of the Inkas were legitimated according to particular material referents, such as the presence of and attachment or affiliation to mummies of ancestor figures who stood as evidence of claims to status or even to territory/conquered land: "The mummies of former Inca kings in Cuzco were each considered as a deified ancestor to a different socio-political subdivision, ranked within a dynasty according to its political or its religious role. Their rank could be detected by their relative place, to the right or to the left of the image of the Sun in important state ceremonies." However, the factor of ancestor mummies among the noble class as material indices of rank and lineage did not convey a clear chronological sequence—what we may consider as a historical sequence—and, furthermore, did not relay clearly, as Zuidema states, "what the opposition of Hanan and Hurin really meant in Cuzco in terms of origin and occupation." In other words, there were vying narratives regarding how power had been sorted amongst the Inkas prior to the last recognized ruler before Spanish invasion, Wayna Qapaq.

> called Manco Capac which means King Manco. After him came his wife, whom they called Mama Ocllo. From inside the cave they brought out their handsome golden halberds. The men came out dressed in garments of fine wool woven with gold. On their necks they brought out some bags, also of elaborately woven wool…The women also came out dressed very richly in cloaks and sashes that they called *chumbis*, well woven with gold…"[40]

In an early rendition of an Inka order, the Inkas emerge as in a procession from a cave, their *paqarina*. *Paqarina* refers to a place of origin or site of emergence of a kin group's ancestors, which were typically natural sites in the landscape.[41] We can remark, too, that some of the siblings' names translate to words that associate them with the inhabited space in the sense of resources that would be meaningful, to different degrees, to its human inhabitants: "*Ayar"* means a wild quinoa grain, "*Cachi"* means salt, "*Ucho*" means chili pepper, "*Cura*" means weed.[42] From the outset, thus, the physical space these figures traversed become absorbed by them, in name but also symbolically invoking different value associated with the land or its produce. Here at the beginning of their story we see that it is important that the Inka royal siblings surface into the earthly space (the *kay pacha*) wearing fine woven

---

[40] Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, trans. and ed., Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan from the Palma de Mallorca Manuscript, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 13. "Chumbis," (also spelled *chumpi*) were women's woven belts/sashes; they will be further discussed in chapter 3.

[41] In Diego Gonzalez Holguin's early seventeenth century Quechua/Spanish dictionary we see words like "paccarini, paccarimuni: nacer [to be born]." See Diego González Holguín, *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru* (Lima: Francisco del Canto, 1608) (Digitalizado por Runasimipi Qespisqa Software para publicación en el internet, 2007, www.runasimipi.org), 182; See William Gustav Gartner, "Mapmaking in the Central Andes," in *The History of Cartography, Vol.2, Book 3: Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, eds. David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 265. Gartner references Cristobal de Molina's account of the Inka origin narratives. Here another origin narrative is noted, telling of the creation of humanity in general, and how the Creator god created multiple ethnic groups as male-female pairs who emerge from their various *paqarina,* such as caves, water springs, lakes, mountain peaks.

[42] McEwan, *The Incas: New Perspectives*, 57.

garments. As a people, therefore, their dawning is interlaced with the Andean environment, which they will duly transform into an Inka landscape, and with textiles. What is also interesting, and which is important to a fundamental ordering system in Andean society, is that the siblings emerge in pairs and, specifically, as man-woman pairs. The idea of balance and symmetry but also difference comes across, a type of duality which will be relevant to ordering systems in other contexts.

In the first instance of the Inkas surfacing into the landscape from their cave *paqarina*, the Inkas are presented as being *of* nature, paired with the earth. This will help set the template for how they will later express their power by, for example, combining their architectural structures with natural rock outcrops as they constructed their imperial sites.[43] In some cases the Inkas carved rocks to incorporate them into majestic expressions of man's labor over nature or in other cases treated them in their natural states so as to highlight an Inka relationship and claim to their enduring and unyielding qualities.[44] The Inkas' intricate ties to nature would also be emphasized by how the Inka royals linked their lineage to the divinity of the Sun, claiming that Inka royal leaders were demigods— the sons of the Sun. After their emergence from the cave of origin, the first Inkas traversed the highlands, journeying northward to find a place to settle. They located the site of their future capital, Cusco, after determining

[43] See Carolyn Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place," *The Art Bulletin*, 89:3 (2007), 502-518.
[44] Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rocks* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); also César Paternosto, *The Stone and the Thread: Andean Roots of Abstract Art*, trans. by Esther Allen (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

that its soil was fertile for cultivation. Later, after establishing themselves in the Cusco valley, their history tells how they fought a seminal war against their early rivals, the Chankas, with the aid of *pururaucas*, magic stones or rocks that transformed and came to life in the landscape.[45] In using the word "magic" here, I am putting forward the idea of experiences that abide by a different ordering system and experience of reality, wherein material objects and/or the nonhuman have animistic potential with real and felt repercussions within human social, political, cultural spheres.[46] It was the seeming link between the Inkas and the land —to the extent that land forms such as rocks came alive to protect them in the episode of the

[45] Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inka Realm,* trans. by Harry B. Iceland, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 15.

[46] I use the term magic here not in any sense pejoratively, but rather as shorthand for a dynamic materialism that pushes against an ordered system or worldview aligned traditionally with rationalism in Western scholarship. "Magic" here alludes to practices that allow for an ambiguous divide between the human and nonhuman, natural and supernatural, inanimate and animate. Regarding a critique of embedded Eurocentric thought of the last several hundred years that poses the "rational" against the construct of the "magical" in a binary framework—even within scholarship termed posthumanist, which acknowledges the presence and power of the nonhuman in political and geopolitical processes—see Juanita Sundberg, "Decolonizing Posthumanist Geographies," *cultural geographies*, Vol. 21 (1) 2014, 37-39. The author notes how this binary is often surfaced alongside another binary, that of "culture" and "nature," wherein the Western thinker (and viewer) sees themself as the only one "capable of distinguishing between nature and culture, science and society, while 'they' [the "primitive" or "non-modern"] remain mired in 'nature'." The author points to limitations to such binaries introduced by Western theorists, which privilege Western science—and notions of reality as based in Western science—as the only "true" ordering of reality; she suggests that the "assumption of a *universe* [i.e., of one legitimate ordering system] is inherently colonial, in that it 'sustains itself through performances that tend to suppress and or contain the enactment of other possible worlds." For an evocative analysis of how the nature/culture binary, for example, fails to uphold as a useful framework in an Indigenous Andean context, particularly, see Carolyn Dean's "The Inka Married the Earth," 505-06, where the author discusses the ways in which the pre-contact Inkas incorporated "nature" with "culture" through integrated rock outcrops with the built environment, merging or "marrying" their architectural structures to the landscape. The author argues that to say these interfaces of natural rock outcrop with architecture were sites of "nature meeting culture" is inadequate: "...while we may be tempted to say that these are places where "culture" meets "nature," it better reflects Inka (and, more generally, Andean) thinking to say that these are locations where the ordered world of the Inka meets unordered nature, for Andeans tend not to recognize a dichotomy between human society and the world human beings inhabit."

pururaucas—that ultimately set the Inkas on a path to imperial dominance. Likewise, as they expanded their empire, the Inkas were deliberate in how they brought the landscape into their expressions of "Inkaness." For example, they created monumental sites that not only settled the land but that made landscape a further expression of Inka power. They regularly articulated this by linking their own presence to particular places with sacred value or even to sight lines/viewsheds that could create a connection between a person and powerful natural entities, such as the mountain deities.[47]

Human relationship to the land was therefore fundamental to how the Inkas expressed their presence and their power. This can be further contextualized with some discussion of Indigenous practices and beliefs regarding animism and personhood, which applies to how the Inkas related to the landscape and, beyond that, how textiles also are absorbed into relationships or complex social networks wherein humans, land features/landscape, and material things such as textiles can be seen to have overlapping and interactive presence and influence.

The Heart of the Matter: The Importance of Materializing Space

For Indigenous Andeans, their inhabited space is perceived as alive, full of living beings embedded in a living matrix. The earth, Pachamama, is the embodiment

[47] See, for example, Carolyn Dean, "Men Who Would be Rocks: The Inka Wank'a," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-columbian Ande*s (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2015), 220.

of fertility and productivity. The root term, *pacha*, conveys "static" space and "dynamic" time as inextricably linked, and in its expression we should understand that the past, the present, and the future exist in the same space and time. [48] Furthermore, time exceeds ideas of linear movement or trajectory and exceeds abstract conceptualizations and can be materialized, or located. The importance of *materialization*, or *materiality*, or making abstract things material is of great significance in the Andean context. Beyond the expression of *pacha*, for example, another way that we see abstract things become material in the Andes is the way in which the sacred is materialized within the landscape and the way social organization is given spatial form.

A sacred geography, in which the sacred becomes evident or materialized through natural features of the landscape is something seen across time periods in the Andes. The Nasca culture of the Early Intermediate period (c. 200 BCE-600 CE), for example, "marked" the living earth with geoglyphic lines etched into the arid soil of the southern Peruvian coast. Johan Reinhard writes about the monumental Nasca lines/ geoglyphs as sacred lines that were meant to indicate extremely valued and revered water sources and also served as a mode of creating visual and ritual communication with nearby mountain deities.[49] With the Inkas, hundreds of years

[48] Atuq Eusebio Manga Qespi, "Pacha: un concepto andino de espacio y tiempo" ILCAV (Instituto de Lingüística y Cultura Amerindia de la Universidad de Valencia) *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, 24, (Madrid: Complutense, 1994), 157.
[49] Johan Reinhard, "Interpreting the Nazca Lines," in *The Ancient Americas: Art from Sacred Landscapes*, Richard F. Townsend, ed. (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1992).

later, we also see a tracing of the earth with the sacred lines, called *ceques,* which were "sightlines" that emanated from the Inka's Temple of the Sun in Cusco outwards through the four *suyus* or sectors of *Tawantinsuyu*. (*Tawantinsuyu* means "four parts together," and conveys the Inka empire's socio-political subdivisions of four sectors of different rank. The upper half of *Tawantinsuyu*, which was "*hanan*," was comprised of the sectors *Chinchaysuyu* and *Antisuyu*; the lower half of *Tawantinsuyu*, which was "*hurin*," was comprised of the sectors *Contisuyu* and *Collasuyu*.) The *ceque* lines, however, were not *seen* so much as experienced. The so-called lines were invisible pathways which were brought forward through the materiality and presence of sacred forms called *wak'as*, which were located along the *ceque* trajectories.

In the early colonial chronicles *wak'as* were fathomed as idols or were seen as shrines, but they do not really fit a characterization we might have of "shrine" and can take any number of forms. The early seventeenth-century Spanish chronicler and Jesuit priest and missionary Bernabé Cobo described *wak'as* as sacred places or shrines in the landscape but another early colonial chronicler, Cristóbal de Albórnoz, who was intent on eradicating *wak'as* because of their "idolatrous" value recognized them in such natural occurrences as rock forms, fruits from a harvest, lightning, rivers, lakes, and so on.[50] (In these natural sites, *wak'as* can also converge with

[50] See Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, translated and edited by Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 47. Also Pierre Duviols and Cristóbal de Albornoz, "Un Inédit de

paqarinas, a group's place of origin, which speaks to the intricate overlays in the Inka lived environment and visual culture). *Wak'as* may also be man-made or man-modified things such as gold or silver objects, mummified ancestors, cairns, and textiles.[51] As an example, the rock form photographed in Figure 1, today located in a museum in southern Peru and measuring roughly a foot in height, was documented as being a *wak'a*. There is no outward suggestion or special crafting that might identify it as a "special" rock, and yet it was recognized as such.

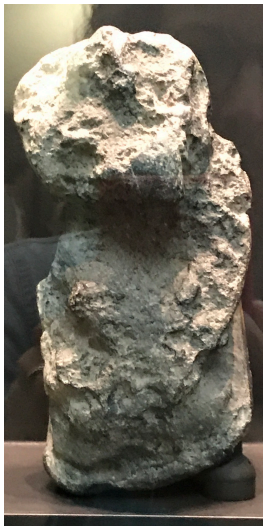

Fig. 1. Natural volcanic rock form identified as *wak'a*, 15th-16th century CE, ~12" Museo de Pachacamac, Peru (photograph by the author)

Not everything and anything will be a *wak'a*, or sacred and material entity, but a *wak'a* can be recognized if it exists and has value within a socio-sacred network of relations. As Tamara Bray notes: "The main determinate of whether a particular

Cristóbal de Albornoz: La Instrucción Para Descubrir Guacas del Pirú y Sus Camayos Y Haziendas," *Journal De la Societé des américanistes*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (1967), 7-1, 15, 17-9: 17-20.

[51] See the description of *wak'as* given by the early chronicler and "extirpator of idolatries," Cristóbal de Albornoz in Pierre Duviols and Cristóbal de Albornoz, 18-20.

[object] was understood as *huaca [wak'a]* seems to relate to whether or not that object had ever been previously involved relationally with other persons."[52] But at a basic level, *wak'as* were/are: "…material, discrete, energetic, and communicative…They were, moreover, persons with distinct capacities, moods, and appetites who interacted with each other and with human beings." The *wak'as* that dotted the Inka landscape along the imaginary *ceque* lines leading out from Cusco (there were 328 *wak'as* distributed along the 41 *ceque* lines) might be thought of as sacred forms that activated the landscape, making it come alive with supernatural presence at various intervals (wherever they were located and would have been interacted with along the *ceque* lines).

The *wak'as* helped visualize the *ceque* lines but the lines themselves also tended to follow or be aligned somehow with water sources. This is an important detail since water sources—springs, rivers, canals—often were used to form natural territorial borders.[53] Thus, together, *ceque* lines and their corresponding *wak'as* helped materialize, or make material and evident, the socio-political administration and territorial subdivisions of the immediate vicinity of Cusco—relaying to us how the spiritual and supernatural converged with the political fairly seamlessly. And, in fact,

[52] Tamara L. Bray, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Andean Concept of Camaquen: Thinking through Late Pre-Columbian Ofrendas and Huacas," in *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19:3 (2009), 363.
[53] Gartner, 286.

the four *suyus* of *Tawantinsuyu* each were responsible for the caretaking and administration of a set of *ceque* lines and their *wak'as*.

That land use and land claim could be articulated through the distribution of *wak'as* shows us that it was important to the Inkas to materialize and make evident how space should be organized. This helps us understand how textiles could also fit into this paradigm. Through an analysis of textiles, I suggest we can trace aspects of how the Inkas linked themselves to the landscape in a *relational* way. This analysis draws on the notion that social relationships existed even across phenomenological and ontological borders. That is, the ontological borders or spaces between entities, natural and supernatural, and the physical spaces between enemies could, for the Inkas, have equally been fathomed as places of encounter and engagement.

Relational Understanding, or Interwoven Fields of Existence

Catherine Allen discusses how in the Andes "things" can have "subject" positionality and enter into social relationships with humans—these can be any range of forms, from landscape features to artifacts like textiles. In this sense, not only does the human have agency, but rather he/she exists within multiple networks and interactions across human, natural, and supernatural spheres where all elements potentially have agency. Allen notes that a prominent aspect of subjectivity and the potential to have presence in the world of humans is a "thing's" ability to "see" or have a viewpoint, rooted in a particular place or positionality, that is recognized by

those humans who interact with it.[54] This ability to see or bear witness and interact with humans and therefore enable a back-and-forth relationship between human and non-human encapsulates "relational ontology." Relational ontology addresses how the "human and nonhuman [are] mutually constituted in and through social relations," and in terms of posthumanist studies today combines western theorizing with what is typically characterized as non-western modes of experiencing existence.[55] The study of the "relational" in application to the Andean world falls within ontological analyses of how Amerindian cultures, more broadly, have incorporated socio-cultural values based on a "relational" or interactive exchange between humans and their environment and the "materialities" or material entities that surround them.[56] The relational also invokes the idea of "personhood," which acknowledges that entities other than human can have agentive presence when recognized within social relationships and networks—extending from the most imposing of beings to the least imposing: "These connections consist of dyadic relationships of symmetrical and

[54] Catherine Allen, "The Whole World Is Watching: New Perspectives on Andean Animism" in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, ed. Tamara L. Bray (University Press of Colorado, 2015): 27-28.
[55] Sundberg, 36. There is a lot more that can be said about ontological frameworks that treat notions of animism and relationships across natural and supernatural existences that are sourced in Western medieval and early modern history and later periods of Western history, as well. See, for example, Vesa-Pekka Herva, Kerkko Nordqvist, Anu Herva, and Janne Ikaheimo's "Daughters of Magic: Esoteric Traditions, Relational Ontology and the Archaeology of the Post-medieval Past," *World Archaeology*, Vol. 42, No.4, Debates in "World Archaeology" (December 2010) 611. The authors reference, for example, what have traditionally been treated as "marginal historical phenomena" of an "esoteric" bent and that had viable presence and currency at different times. Particularly interesting is their attention to alchemy in Europe, which was "an inherently practical art driven by practical motivations." Their discussion brings forward ways in which European history has also been shaped by intellectual and practical frameworks outside the rationalist/Enlightenment model.
[56] Nurit Bird-David, "'Animism' Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology," *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 40, No. S1, Special Issue Culture—A Second Chance? (February 1999) S69-78.

asymmetrical reciprocity formed with persons of different social categories, with superior entities like mountain lords, and with subservient beings like domestic animals and household utensils."[57]

As part of a social dynamic that seems to have been shaped by relationality, the Inkas developed technologies such as weaving that were both expressions of human manufacture as well as ways through which they could create material relationships with the space around them. Where the Earth and other forms that are "alive" in the Andean landscape, such as *wak'as* enter into a discourse with humans, many times it is *textiles* that express the connection.

Textiles bring the human and non-human experiences into the same visual, material, and social discourse. When describing one of the *wak'as* along the seventh *ceque* line within the *suyu*, or sector, of *Antisuyu*, for example, the Jesuit Cobo notes this detail: "The first [*wak'a* on the seventh ceque line] was called Ayllipampa, it was a flat place where the *chacara* [field] is…They said it was the goddess Earth named *Pachamama*, and they offered her small women's garments."[58] We may also point to things such as

[57] Catherine Allen, "The Sadness of Jars: Separation and Rectification in Andean Understandings of Death," in *Living with the Dead in the Andes*, eds. Izumi Shimada and James L. Fitzsimmons (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 313-14.
[58] Cobo, 68. John H. Rowe, "Una Relación de los Adoratorios del Antiguo Cuzco," *Histórica*,Vol.V, Num. 2, (Diciembre de 1981) 233, makes reference to Cobo's "Relación de las guacas del Cuzco," as written in the original Spanish language manuscript, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, from 1653. Cobo had noted this for the seventh *ceque* in *Antisuyu*: "[An-7:1] la primera se decía, *Ayllipampa*, era un llano donde esta la chacara que fue de [Alonso de] Mesa: decian que era la diosa tierra llamada, *Pachamama*; y ofrecianle ropa de muger pequeña."

ears of maize that were dressed in cloth—referred to as *saramamas* or *mamazaras* ("corn/maize mother")—that through literal and figurative binding made sacred maize a "person" within the greater social ambit and allowed a more intimate and embodied celebration of agricultural processes and communion with nature. Cobo documents Indigenous Andeans celebrating the harvest of maize in May, noting that every home had a *saramama*, or an "unusual" ear of maize that had become recognized as a *wak'a* which would be deposited in a storage bin with ceremony but first it would be dressed in very fine textiles:

> "The maize would be wrapped in the richest mantles that the person had, and there he would watch over it for three nights…This guaca [*wak'a*] was called a *mamazara*, which means mother of maize.[59]"

To dress an object in textile garments, in other words, was to incorporate it within the lived experience of the Andean human, applying "personhood" to the object so that it functioned within the greater social, relational system.[60] (Lynn Meisch also discusses *saramamas* as a continued practice today in the Andes of celebrating and collecting unusual cobs of corn as symbols of fecundity.)[61] The seventeenth century Indigenous

---

[59] Cobo, 140-41. Also see Pedro de Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru* [1621] translated by L. Clark Keating (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), 204. See also Elena Phipps, "Andean Textile Traditions: Material Knowledge and Culture Part I," in *Pre-Columbian Textile Conference VII/Jornadas de Textiles PreColombinos*, ed. Lena Bjerregaard and Ann Peters (Lincoln, NE: Zea Books, 2017), 165.

[60] For more on the idea of personhood and *wak'as* in the Andean context, see Tamara L. Bray, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Andean Concept of Camaquen," 357-66. See also Bruce Mannheim and Gullermo Salas Carreño, "Wak'as: Entifications of the Andean Sacred," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, ed. Tamara L. Bray (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2015), 47-74.

[61] Lynn A. Meisch, "Messages from the Past: An Unbroken Inca Weaving Tradition in Northern Peru," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings* Paper 345, University of Nebraska online http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/345, 382.

author and illustrator Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala illustrates some of the points being made here. In his significant literary and historical manuscript, he gives insight into Native Andean practices that preceded Spanish invasion. In this image, he portrays a scene full of animacy across human and non-human worlds (Fig. 2). In the upper left-hand side of the composition, perched atop a hill form or a rock, we see the figure of an Inka forebear who was turned to stone, labeled with his name, "*uanacauri uaca*" (variously spelled *Wanakaure wak'a*), in the author's script. In the illustration, this ancestor-turned-stone oversees the tenth Inka king, who is also labeled—"Tupa Ynga" (Tupaq Inka)—consulting with a group of other agentive non-human forms, i.e. *wak'as,* at his feet.

Fig. 2. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. CAPÍTVLO DE LOS ÍDOLOS, *VACA BILLCA INCAP* [divinidades del Inka] *folio 261 [263]* Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/263/en/text/

Wanakaure, seen in the image in figural form, was recognized as a *wak'a* and in writing his name Guaman Poma has granted the *wak'a* an existence and authority that corresponds to the naming/labeling of Tupaq Inka on the other side of the page. Through the labeling and through the pictorial description of the rock form as a *figural* form rather than an Earth form, Guaman Poma relays that the *wak'a* has personhood, thus reinforcing that there is a relational exchange between the human and the nonhuman or supernatural. The image also invokes ideas of place-making. The form of *Wanakaure* not only registers as an ancestor-turned-stone but also as a touchstone of place/settlement for the Inkas. In one of their origin narratives, as the Inkas make their way from the cave at Pacariqtambo towards what would become Cusco, one of the four first male siblings is transformed into this rock form, i.e. becomes *Wanakaure*. His petrified essence, embedded in the landscape, would mark a point at which Cusco enters one's viewshed, serving as a visible memorial to the Inka journey. Furthermore, in the Guaman Poma drawing, the other *wak'as* grouped in a circle in the lower part of the composition also express relationality, place-making, and personhood. Tupaq Inka is depicted talking to this group of *wak'as*, asking in Quechua which of them had said for there to be no rain, nor frost, nor hail. The *wak'as* respond that it was not they who had said any such thing: "*Manam noca cunaca, ynca*," (*No fuimos nosotros, Inka*/ It wasn't us, Inka…). They are clearly involved and active in the same social/relational network in which the Inka ruler is. Their conversation brings forward their personhood—they are responsible for their actions, the Inka ruler is trying to hold them responsible, and they are opinionated and

articulate and have a say in things. Some of them also seem personified in a similar aspect to *Wanakaure*, with facial features. We could also say that they help "make place" the way *Wanakaur*e does in that they all are grounded figures, firmly planted in the same plane, the same earth, as features on the land. These *wak'as* recall Inka narratives where features in the landscape such as rocks were known to rise up and fight on behalf of the Inkas; in that sense, we are seeing the landscape rise up to convene with the Inka figure. Furthermore, many of them also seem to be draped in clothing. Their attire is neither specific nor described with the care the Inka's clothing is, but they do seem to be "dressed." Guaman Poma thus shows us how the landscape or forms in the landscape assumed personhood through dress as well.

A "relational ontology" can be configured within a socio-cultural analysis in different ways. With the Inkas, relationality—or conceptualization of interactions or processes or materialities that transcend an anthropocentric ontology—is recognized also in complementary opposition or complementary dualism, which refers to socio-political understandings as much as spiritual ones. This complementarity forms the basis of a relational system that organizes much of Andean culture. Complementary dualism is often registered in terms of asymmetric pairings and can allude to spatial parameters as well. We see this in the complementary dualistic divisions (moieties) of Andean socio-political space at various scales. We recognize it in the oppositional but complementary framework of the original male-female pairing of the first Inka ancestors discussed above. It is also apparent in the *hanan* (upper) and *hurin* (lower)

socio-spatial subdivisions noted. The manner of dividing space also applies to cosmic space, e.g. the "*janaj*" of the celestial space and "*uju*" of the inner world.[62] Complementarity also comes through in expansive physical oppositions like "light and dark," "dry and wet," "warm and cold," that can be applied to various scenarios. These all convey the enactment and, to degrees, materialization, of relationships that inform identity in terms of recognizing the social and relational existence of others, so to speak. In the Andean sense of relationality, furthermore, we are underscoring that these relationships are frequently oppositional. However, this opposition is not a negative thing. Rather, in the Andean relational model when two opposing or contrasting elements are brought together they help achieve balance in the universe, which ultimately allows the continuation of complex processes often related to productive and reproductive cycles.

An Attention to Tension: The Relational as "*Tinku*"

Within the Andean context of formulating encounters that can be said to be expressive of "relational" understanding, we would also want to include the term "*tinku*." The word *tinku* means encounter or place of convergence and expresses the Andean concept that seemingly divergent things converge to create balance in the universe.[63] It helps further conceptualize what complementary dualism posits in terms

[62] Qespi, 166.
[63] See Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino's *Diccionario Quechua Junín-Huanca* (Lima: Ministerio de Educación, 1976) 132. For expansion on the term see Carolyn Dean, "Inka Water Management and the Symbolic Dimensions of Display Fountains," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics,* No.59/60 (spring/autumn 2011): 27; see also Carolyn Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place," *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 89, No. 3, (Sept. 2007): 504; see also John Topic's

of relationships founded on asymmetry or tense interaction. In Diego González Holguín's early colonial recording of Quechua, his 1608 *Vocabulario Quechua*, *tinku* (variously spelled *tincu*) is defined as the joining of two things or also the joining of two rivers.[64] *Tinku* brings disparate elements together and this leads to balance; however, it is not docile. In Holguín's dictionary, *tinku* also forms the root for other words or expressions that signal tension or challenge at a point of joining.[65] For example, "*tincunacuni*" means to be contrary or to compete. So, *tinku* can have a charge to it, an implication of potency. *Tinku* also appears as the root of other words or expressions that have to do with borderlands: *tincuk pura* means boundary (*pura* meaning between two things, between one and another), while *tincuqquempi sayhuani* refers to both the idea of joining but also of marking with landmarks: "amojonar en su raya o límites" or to mark at its line/edge or create a boundary. Landmarks for the Inkas were called s*aywas*, which will be discussed further in chapter 4.[66]

Tinku conveys powerful transformational aspects contingent on the conjoining of things, places, etc., and as such brings forward the slippery nature of meeting, where the meeting place can also turn out to be a liminal zone or threshold space. There is an array of documentation in the early colonial chronicles that remarks on the custom

chapter, "Final Reflections: Catequil as One Wak'a Among Many," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, 388.
[64] Holguín, 224. He references: "*tinkucmayo*: Iunta de dos ríos."
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid., 214.

among Indigenous Andeans of making ritual offerings, such as textiles, coca, burnt objects, camelid and guinea pig, flowers, etc., at sites of convergence, further signaling these as sites of powerful resonance where activity and perhaps passage from natural to supernatural can occur.[67] Sites of *tinku*, or convergence, in the land or at water junctures were also at times associated with offerings to ancestors (*mallquis*) who might be buried at these sites. In these contexts, the ancestors might serve as border markers, becoming, in effect, boundary or delimitation that more visibly separated one's ancestral lands from that of others; however, in these cases we can also see a volatile border being expressed—descendants would visit their ancestor mummies to interact with them and often feast with them, thus transgressing the line between the living and the dead. When it was materialized in these ways, *tinku* could thus be readily comprehended in terms of a borderland space that translated as liminal space, too, where an ancestor spirit could be encountered, crossing over from the other side.

Tinku is also the term for ritual battles that are prevalent in Andean communities (of the past and present), through which the two halves or moieties (*sayas*) engage in ritual encounters to visualize, materialize, and experientially process their relationship to one another as parts within a hierarchical —but complementary dualist— ordering

[67] See Sergio Barraza Lescano, "Tincu y Pallca: lugares de encuentro en el territorio Inca," *Proyecto Qhapaq Ñan*, (Peru: Ministerio de Cultura, 2013); accessed August 9, 2021. https://qhapaqnan.cultura.pe/sites/default/files/articulos/154849781-Tincu-y-Pallca-Lugares-de-Encuentro-en-El-Territorio-Inca.pdf.

structure. These *tinku* rituals are expressions of borders being trespassed or thresholds being crossed for the sake of meaningful interaction. *Tinku* rituals can sometimes be quite violent, in fact, but nonetheless they enact relational worldview where the outcome—no matter the aggression factor—still serves ideas of order and equilibrium.[68] Thus, there are various examples in Andean visual culture we can point to that materialize or bring forward the idea that borders/borderlands can be fruitful places of trespass, that edge spaces can be porous or permeable, and that transformation or border crossings allow for dynamic exchange that is useful even if it is violent. By extension, border as space might be understood as fluid, the "edge" or "threshold" as such marking volatility but not necessarily carrying permanent adverse or permanent negative connotations. Dynamism, movement, transformation, and volatility as expressions of the border space carry productive connotations in this Andean conceptual framework. Precarious balance of opposing forces means that one must always be ready to rectify and bring order back from chaos, but that "readiness" is also an expression of vitality.

How Size is Made to Matter: Relationality and Scale

Further expanding on relationality, in the Andes spatial organization is often seen through nested forms or "nesting hierarchies," and this is applicable to the landscape. For example, Catherine Allen notes that especially high mountains, which

[68] Paul H. Gelles, "Equilibrium and Extraction: Dual Organization in the Andes" *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 22, No.4 (Nov. 1995): 715.

are recognized as supreme deities, called *apus*, are understood to be at the apex of a "nested" order, with lesser mountains nested within their sphere of influence.[69] She relays that one way to think about Andean organizational modes is to refer to a mathematical order, to the unfolding symmetrical quality of fractals, that could describe relationships that "exhibit[s] properties of scaling, self-similarity, and recursion."[70] This is applicable not only to mountain ranges with their larger and smaller summits that exist within a nesting hierarchy (and also a relational network); it also attunes us to how to interpret other Andean forms/formats of expression such as textiles, probing the extent to which we can understand textiles as also being indices of larger forms.

What I suggest is that textiles may be seen as part of a "nested" relationship with the larger inhabited spaces, or, in other words, forms/formats that echo and reinforce relational understanding of human experiences of space and landscape but at a vastly different scale. Andrew Hamilton's lovely textual and illustrative work regarding how the Inkas used scaled relationships of forms to express social, political, and power dynamics is a thorough exploration of the question of scale in Inka visual culture.[71]

---

[69] Catherine Allen, "The Living Ones: Miniatures and Animation in the Andes," *Journal of Anthropological Research* (Winter 2016).

[70] See Allen, "The Living Ones: Miniatures..."; See also Mannheim and Salas Carreño, 63; the authors offer examples of the "fractal" or nesting quality of Andean constructs when talking about the importance of names/naming places and how this constitutes "personhood" among land forms and other entities: "Named places have a fractal quality, as it is possible to find more and more names within a given named place. A place may thus contain many places, which in turn can contain more places, all depending on the social and spatial context in which people might refer to places. Each particular place has a sphere of influence that is subsumed within a bigger and more encompassing place."

[71] Andrew Hamilton, *Scale and the Incas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

More specific to the expression of *landscape* at different scales, bearing on my analysis of textiles as expressions within a nested understanding of the larger Andean space, we can look to discussion of rock forms within Inka visual culture. Carolyn Dean discusses the metonymic relationship between different types of rock forms (sometimes carved, sometimes not) and their environment, noting that some of these can be understood to not only recall or reflect something in the landscape (such as a nearby mountain) but actually embody it.[72] Furthermore, the degree of mimicry or illusionistic reference that a stone object may have in relation to, say, the mountain it embodies can vary greatly because for the Inkas embodiment/presence was not dependent on representational qualities. The Inkas in many cases isolated or singled out a stone form and recognized it as an embodiment of a mountain deity, or of an Inka ruler, or of another valued entity. The Inka rock form (in this case both carved and uncarved, or expressing a kind of duality/complementarity in its very make-up) called the Saywiti Monolith, is conjectured to be an embodiment of the broader landscape within which the rock sits.[73] The monument has a variety of flora and fauna forms carved on it and also has been worked to suggest a built environment, with water channels running through it, thus presenting "a small-scale landscape." Interestingly, within an Inka visual rhetoric that allowed for multiple interpretations

[72] Dean, "The Trouble with (The Term) Art," *Art Journal*, Vol. 65, No.2 (Summer, 2006): 29-30.
[73] Dean, "A Celebrated Stone: The Inkas' Carved Monolith at Saywiti," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, Vol. 73-74 (Spring-Autumn 2020): 309, 315-17.

and conceptual overlays, this monolith is also suggested to mark territorial interests as the name Saywiti derives from the Quechua word, "*saywa*," or landmark or marker.[74]

The presentation of landscape features and territorial forms such as water channels in the small-scale rock carving relays that the Inkas had a visual rhetorical practice through which they sought to materialize nature and the inhabited space at scales perhaps more digestible to the human experience. In this vein, Franquemont and Isbell refer to textiles in terms of a way of putting order to complex phenomena, with textiles and, importantly, the *process* of fabricating textiles, functioning within "nested" systems of symmetry, acting as ways of materializing symmetrical notions and relationships that are more elusive or "ethereal."[75] In line with their framing, I suggest that textiles and the weaving process not only materialize greater symmetries and/or relationships in terms of symmetry/asymmetry but that they functioned within an explicit Inka rhetorical framework associated with the "symmetry" of power, or how the Inkas ordered their territory.

[74] Holguín, 214: "*sayhua*: mojon de tierras," i.e. landmark; *sayhuani sayhuacani*: amojonar tierra hazer linderos [mark the land, create boundary].

[75] Christine and Edward M. Franquemont, Billie Jean Isbell, "Awaq ñawin: El ojo del tejedor; La práctica de la cultura en el tejido," *Revista Andina*, año 10, no. 1 (julio 1992): 57-58. "El poder de los sistemas anidados de simetría para poner orden en fenómenos complejos puede ser apreciado a través de un objeto material tal como una *llijlla* que puede ser sostenido en una mano o ilustrado en una página. Sin embargo, para la gente andina, estas ideas son mucho más utiles; de muchos modos el tejido es solo la huella de nociones simétricas más etéreas pero igualmente profundas que subyacen en todo el proceso de elaboración de los tejidos andinos."

Before looking to the visual culture of textiles and how they make meaning in terms of space and landscape, however, it will be helpful to contemplate what we mean by "space" or what the framework for thinking about weaving as embedded practice can mean within the particular geography of the Andes and the particular Inka power structure. This will help set up a useful pathway for considering how textiles played into an ideology of landscape in the Andes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The idea of landscape as something shaped by human activity also yields to ideas of control over the land and to efforts of demarcation.

Space and Landscape

References to the Andean space incorporate the physical/material aspects of terrain but also should acknowledge how a physical environment is full of social content and meaning constantly "in the making." The analysis of space as an outcome of processes or as something that can be "produced" through subjective interactions and through modes of representation—and interrogated for this— was developed by Henri Lefebvre in his book *The Production of Space*. In consideration of the pre-contact Inkas of the Andean space, we can work off Lefebvre's premise that every society "produces a space, its own space…[and] offers up its own peculiar space, as it were, as an 'object' for analysis and overall theoretical explication."[76] Lefebvre develops his analysis with attention to capitalist structures, commenting that "produced space" which becomes "social space," plays a role in relations of

[76] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 31.

production (i.e. labor) and relations of reproduction (i.e. biological relationships), by differentiating between them even though production and reproduction are "inextricably bound up with one another."[77] "Space," as conceptualized by a given society thus is recognized as a process by which production and reproduction can be "localized" or literally grounded.[78] As he further breaks it down, the production of space can be grouped into a triad of concepts: 1. Spatial practice, which entails how space is "perceived" or how a person might correlate their daily life and routines to the greater networks they act within; 2. Representations of space, which entails how a space is "conceptualized," or made to correspond to a system of signs or regulated/administered in some way, and 3. Representational space, which entails space as "lived through its associated images and symbols," in other words, he states, the way space is experienced in the sense of "overlaying physical space" but also in a manner that is passive—here beholden to systems of (non-verbal) symbols and signs.[79]

WJT Mitchell offers a helpful shorthand for Lefebvre's triad. He suggests framing the conceptualized space as "place," the perceived space as "space," and the lived space as "landscape": "If a *place* is a specific location, a *space* is a 'practiced place,' a site activated by movements, actions, narratives, and signs, and a *landscape* is that site

[77] Ibid., 32.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid., 38-39.

encountered as image or 'sight.'"[80] Mitchell asserts the usefulness of using a triad of concepts to entertain how a given society makes meaning of their surroundings, stating that triangulating the different explorations of space offers a richer language for critical analysis of it.[81]

My interest rests in all three of these aspects that Mitchell denotes, although from a cultural and historical distance, the specificity of "place" in relation to an Inka context is a little more elusive a framework to work through. Or, to be clearer, thinking of Inka textiles particularly as expressions of "place"—that is, as expressing "locally specific" content—is more difficult since so much information has been lost in the intervening history. Nonetheless, "place" and "place-making" is an important backdrop because of its currency in how Indigenous identity is tied to situatedness and belonging to one's particular local environment.[82] As Sundberg articulates, "situating self in relation to community affiliation and place accounts for the importance of place in [Indigenous] knowledge production and avoids essentialist conceptions of a pan-Indigenous epistemology."[83]

---

[80] W.J.T Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), X.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Tangential to this, touching on the term "geography" as a correlative term, we can keep it within view as also being a term that complicates how land is interpreted. Geography as an ordering system and way of expressing power relations and identity would be an extension of "spatialization." It would also be a non-neutral framing. Irit Rogoff comments that "the critical process of geographical spatialization insist[s] on the multi-habitation of spaces through bodies, social relations and psychic dynamics." See Rogoff, 24.
[83] Sundberg, 36.

In this respect, it would be important to note that when we discuss the Inkas and an Inka "place," this would be experienced differently from the numerous subject ethnic groups that fell under its domain. As I explore my particular inquiry into border areas or border concepts among the Inkas, however, I will tend to engage with the terms "space" and "landscape" more often. The idea of "place" or that which is a more fixed or bounded idea of space may be less useful as I look to what it means to come to terms with the edges or perimeters of the Inka imperial space. What comes forward in my analysis of the Inka spatial discourse is the importance of how the edge of the state-as-ideological mechanism was experienced and practiced and correlated to greater networks or how it was interpreted (i.e., Mitchell's space) and how that edge was further visualized and imagined (i.e., Mitchell's landscape). Within this constraint, I will argue that the Inkas experienced and visualized the edges of their (territorial) space as un-fixed and volatile.

Ideology of landscape here draws on a framing of the inhabited space as something that goes beyond what can be measurable or accountable in terms of terrain, ecosystems, and local flora and fauna, etc. "Landscape" can be considered a body of knowledge imagined and envisioned, or visualized, by a viewer. It includes the ways in which social life and cultural proclivities are experienced, for example, in the way that types of flora and fauna are exalted in practical use and through symbolic gestures, or through how these as well as land features and natural resources may become integrated in the psychic-social world of humans. The landscape the Inkas

inhabited had visceral presence that was experienced through a blend of meaning-making processes, including sensorial awareness, social relationships, and cultural memory. To know the landscape was to live in it but also to sense it as a living thing, to incorporate it within one's network of relationships, to see from its vantage points how power could be visualized, and to locate within it the physical markers that could validate one's existence.

Core-Periphery and How the Center Centers Itself

In analyzing the concepts of space and landscape in the Andes as well as how textiles can have correspondence with these, the critical question of the edges of space, or delimitation of space, arises, which brings forward certain concepts: e.g. frontier, border, boundary. It is worthwhile to comment on these terms and lay out some points that will help narrow the scope of my analysis. First, because my interest rests on the question of the "edges" of space(s), we can frame this within a larger core-periphery model. This is a constraint, but it acknowledges that when talking about the idea of periphery within the Inka cultural context it is because there was a very present/active center or core.

The notion of space according to relationships of center/core and periphery has gained much currency in history and sociology studies. The late twentieth century sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein is a recognized proponent of thinking about core-periphery dynamics within the idea of a "world system," thinking primarily in terms

of labor and distribution and control over such; a world system according to this model is an "analyzable thing bounded and substantially self-contained, it consists of a unified economy founded on a well-developed division of labor yet incorporating a multiplicity of cultures."[84] This perception is then transmitted or represented in ideas and representations, where a/the "center" garners the attention as the focal point of influence and of power and given visibility as such and imposes its influence (control over markets in the capitalist framework) over semi-periphery and periphery areas. This "center" or core in this model namely meant the rise of early modern Europe as a social and economic power with degrees of control and imposition across the globe through control over exchange, or markets.[85]

In Andean studies, core-periphery models have been applied to study of how the Inkas applied power across the Andean landscape, extracting resources and exacting tribute through labor in the process. While Wallerstein's focus was Europe as a burgeoning, capitalist "world system," the conceptual framework of core-periphery power relationships resonates with aspects of expansionist states such as the Inka

[84] Robert S. DuPlessis, "Wallerstein, World Systems Analysis, and Early Modern European History," in *The History Teacher*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Feb. 1998): 222; see also Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham: North Carolina University Press, 2004).
[85] For Wallerstein, the "center" of the world system typified by modern Western Europe was articulated through economic, commercial expansion. The shift away from agrarian economies controlled by a dominant class toward an industrial, capitalist economy that pursued the production of commodities for exchange in the market is what shaped the "world system" of modern Europe, whereby "a new economic order [was] founded on a world-wide division of labor and political units of disparate strength." (See Duplessis, 223.) For a take on core-periphery and spatial discourse in terms of gender, see Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 250; the meaning of space varies greatly, notes the author, who comments further that there is often a failure to see the spatial as political. Massey favors center-periphery modeling, suggesting the terms allow us to see "spatiality in a highly active and politically enabling manner."

empire that derived much of its power through the control of labor resources across vast stretches of territory. The core-periphery conceptualization has also been applied to the earlier Wari culture of the Middle Horizon (c. 500-1000 CE), who were also of the highland Andes and preceded the Inkas by a few hundred years. Although the Wari are not considered to have been an "empire," not exhibiting the same degree of administrative and ideological imprint that the Inkas did, the Wari sphere of influence was fairly large and there is relevant debate about how its significant network of administrative centers and settlement patterns should be categorized.[86] The Wari, like the Inkas afterwards, visualized power through their use of space and through the occupation of territory—this occurred through how the land was labored and how the land was built upon and can be characterized by focal centers from which power directives were emitted to dispersed sites that were on the receiving end.[87]

In the core-periphery framework, many questions are framed in terms of how the "center" expressed itself but, invariably, we arrive at questions of how the periphery

[86] See William H. Isbell, "Agency, Identity, and Control: Understanding Wari Space and Power," in *Beyond Wari Walls: Regional Perspectives on Middle Horizon Peru* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010) 233- 254, who argues for approaching study of the Wari using core-periphery models that acknowledge a centralized authority with distributed power; other scholars, such as John Rowe, D. Collier, and G.R. Willey, "Reconnaissance Notes on the Site of Wari, near Ayacucho, Peru," *American Antiquity* 16, 2 (1950): 120-37, discuss the Wari within ideas of empire, with a centralized order; see also W. H. Isbell and K.J. Schreiber, "Was Huari a State?," *American Antiquity* 43, 3 (1978): 372-389, for further discussion of the way Wari administrative power affected peripheral sites; see also Gordon McEwan & Williams, "The Wari Built Environment: Landscape and Architecture of Empire" in *Wari: Lords of the Ancient Andes*, ed. Susan E. Bergh (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2012) 65-81, who discuss sites like Pikillacta as demonstrative of Wari "imperial infrastructure"; likewise studies at other sites that provided evidence for a Wari administrative network, e.g. Katharina Schreiber, *Wari Imperialism in Middle Horizon Peru.* Anthropological Papers 87 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1992).

[87] Isbell, "Agency, Identity, and Control: Understanding Wari Space and Power," 235-36.

or the edges away from that center not only replicated the center's ideology of power but also added their own elements to the equation. In this sense, there are misgivings about core-periphery models that plot power dynamics spatially and set up a dichotomy between two opposing ends/entities that deny or diminish the complex interactions that characterize any center and its outlying network. The critique of this type of model is that it extends a too simplified hierarchy in place of complex relationships, which tend to exceed the boundaries of an overriding core-periphery template or what this often stands in for, i.e. civilized-uncivilized, or processes of unidirectional acculturation, etc.

In an assessment of core-periphery framing for the Wari, for example, Isbell notes that within Andean studies criticism pushes back against a "top-down" review of historical processes and asserts agency and dimensionality on behalf of the cultures and entities that were administered by greater power structures. This is a valid concern, one which can be somewhat mitigated through how we talk about the periphery. To this end, it may help to start by seeing the edges of a core-periphery structure, such as might characterize the Inka empire, as active spaces where the core's power was constantly being renegotiated. Here it is useful to reassess what "center" can entail. Quoting Harris, Gelles asserts that "the Andean notion of the center 'is defined by what is on either side, rather than corresponding to the more concentrically organized idea of the center common in western thought."[88] In other

[88] Gelles, 715.

words, when thinking of the Inkas and core-periphery models, we would want to think about the core/center as something defined by the way components on either side, or peripheral, to it may meet. *Meeting* and how meeting is enacted and expressed give the center its value and therefore what surfaces is a logic in recognizing places of convergence as also having value and celebrating, memorializing, and recording or materializing these.

Here I return to the terms mentioned above —frontier, border, boundary—to suggest a certain kind of "edge" space when thinking about the Inka contexts, and, by extension, Inka textiles. Although some contexts may call for an identification of peripheral zones with notions of separation and compartmentalization (often within framework of "boundary"), in this dissertation I entertain the idea of the (Inkas') edge as a yielding space where there is ongoing tension and a possibility of encounter or convergence rather than a space of definitive rift.

Terms at the Edge: Thinking through the Frontiers & Borders of the Andean Space

In an essay on the nature of frontiers and boundaries, political scholar Ladis Kristof writes that frontier, with its root "front," signals something that is an extension of *a whole*, and "specifically that part which is ahead of the hinterland."[89]

[89] Ladis K.D. Kristof, "The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Sep. 1959, Vol. 49, No. [Part 1] (Sept. 1959): 269.

He postulates that the frontier is an area that is not conclusive but rather expansive—where the vast exterior meets the "beginning" of what would be recognized as that aforementioned "whole," i.e. the state, the inhabited and known space. It is a place of growth, therefore, or an extension of the center (or ecumene) that is full of potential for further expansion, further shaping.[90] In contrast, the term "boundary" is a notion that conveys fairly conclusive/exclusive barriers. With respect to boundaries in the natural world, Kristof comments that they "rest on physical laws which are self-enforcing and cannot be broken" (e.g. the natural breaks or paths or divides created by natural processes that occur on their own) while in the political arena, boundaries are constructed by the laws (rural, moral, etc.) created and accepted by humans.[91] For Kristof, a territory must have a certain known extent limited by boundaries, which is why he determines that the notion of boundary is perhaps better suited to a modern conceptualization of the state which defines its sovereignty through territorial delimitations.[92] Here, I would argue that the Inkas sidestep some of the constraints of Kristof's definition of territory in that the empire *was* a territory with sovereignty distinguishing it from other groups but that it did not depend on territorial delimitations or boundaries to articulate this.

In discussing the edges of Inka territory, Sonia Alconini also notes the distinction between "frontier" and "boundary." She comments that while boundary signals

[90] Ibid., 270.
[91] Ibid., 276.
[92] Ibid., 270-1.

separation or the "bounding" of a space, entity, or system—and may be marked by sharp, visible delineations on the land or also by broader spatial "areas" that nonetheless are marked by certain features—in contrast, a frontier implies "places of encounter, confrontation, and encounter," where, for example, the human element and human social presence is conspicuous.[93] Kristof further describes the concept of frontier as "outer-oriented," as a space that has a life of its own and adds that there is no such thing as an "empty" frontier.[94] Aligning with this conceptualization, Lightfoot and Martinez discuss "frontier" in terms of a fluid space, or "socially charged places where innovative cultural constructs are created and transformed."[95] They write that frontiers have often been wrongly framed within a colonialist perspective to be "semipermeable cultural barriers that can restrict social interactions," and that filter or limit exchanges between peoples; they push back on this with the idea that frontiers can be thought of instead as "interaction zones."[96] Further than the idea of "interaction," they also bring up the prospect of frontiers as sites of "innovation" and "re-combination," which in my estimation entails productive and generative power, and I will suggest that the Inka frontier or border space can be seen as a dynamic or threshold space where interaction and the vitality

[93] Sonia Alconini, *Southeast Inka Frontiers: Boundaries and Interactions*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2016), 6.
[94] Kristof, 271-72.
[95] Lightfoot and Martinez discuss frontiers as zones of "cross-cutting social networks," looking at colonial fur-trade outposts in western North America. Kent Lightfoot and Antoinette Martinez, "Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol 24 (1995): 472.
[96] Ibid., 474. While the authors bring up the question of frontiers within the scope of colonial models of core-periphery relationships, I find it useful in application to Inka imperial territoriality and how to navigate the question of its borderlands as fitting within a relational cultural or ontological view.

that comes from that is expressed (and is perhaps necessary to a territory's sense of self and prosperity).

Cynthia Radding addresses ideas of territory in the South American context and offers that another way to think about spatial relationships and representations is through "entwined ecological and cultural processes that define both territoriality and community."[97] For Radding, notions of territoriality vary and depend on different ways in which land is used.[98] In one study of an early eighteenth century Spanish colonial frontier town in Chiquitos, southeastern Bolivia, which met against Portuguese presence, she examines the way in which territorial ambitions and framing was tied closely to community identity for the Indigenous groups inhabiting this space whereas, for the Spanish interest, the idea of this space as "territory" was tied very much to a larger geopolitical sphere (and fear). In the same vein, for the Inkas we would want to think about the specificity of the Andean environment and how its ecology was entwined with the specifics of Inka cultural practices and their own particular notions of territory as shaped by local realities.

What I argue for the case of Inka territoriality is that they used land or perceived space in a relational way as befitted their cultural framework: they saw the space at

[97] Cynthia Radding, "Borderlands of Knowledge about Nature: Crossing and Creating Boundaries in Early America*" Early American Studies*, Spring 2015, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Spring 2015): 504.
[98] Cynthia Radding, "Territory: Community and Conflicting Claims to Property," in *Landscapes of Power and Identity: Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 89.

the edges, frontier, or borders of the empire in a relational manner. (Other expressions that Kristof offers for frontier are "foreland, or borderland, and march" and I will use frontier and border or borderlands interchangeably but tend to rely on "border."[99]) Rather than *have* territory, I suggest the Inkas "exercised" territoriality and articulated empire not through enclosure—or signaling of "boundary"— but through the activation of the frontier or border area, making it a threshold space where a (relational) back-and-forth between the Inka insider and the outsider was ongoing. The concept of inside versus outside is vivid for Andeans and yet there is also a counterpart concept of thresholds and expressions of crossing over; Catherine Allen notes this in relation to how the interior house space is conceived in the Andes, how its sanctity is both harped upon but how exposure or transgression is also acknowledged: "..outside events are not directly perceivable by those inside, nor do they share in the same subjectivity. But the difference is never absolute: one can move through the door from one (inter)subjective state to the other."[100]

In the Andes, and for the Inkas in particular— both in the pre-contact context and in their cultural expressions during the colonial period—I suggest the more pertinent characterizations or descriptions for "border" concepts and spaces would be words that convey this vitality: border as transformative space, as moving or mobile or active zone, as comprised of points of passage, as threshold. But a valid

[99] Kristof, 269.
[100] Catherine Allen, "The Incas Have Gone Inside: Pattern and Persistence in Andean Iconography," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics, 42* (2002): 195.

characterization would also be volatility—the border as volatile, active, full of dynamic tension—which draws us back to "*tinku*." I argue that in the Andean Inka context the frontier or border, where one space ended and another began, was not expected to be fixed but was appreciated instead as site of productive encounter, yielding possibilities and generative power through continual tension and opposition.

Borders in Time: Borderlands and the Edges of Space(s) in the Longer View of Pre-Contact Andes

An apt reference to frontiers or borderlands, or how to think about space and then *border* space, may lie in textiles and how *their* border spaces are configured, demarcated, marked, enacted. In my analysis, I reflect on how borders in the landscape may be articulated in the border areas of certain Indigenous textiles. I ask how the perimeters of a fabric matrix become relevant to a broader ideology of landscape or territory. The edges of a textile are important, of course, to the structure of the piece but in certain Inka examples we see edges enhanced in ways that supersede structural necessity, often embellished or otherwise marked to claim further meaning. In these cases, my driving questions are what does the border define, how or what does it mediate? And does it impede or provoke interaction?

My interest in how frontiers or borders function within a territorial construct in the Andes concentrates on the Inka Empire, but it is worth commenting here on earlier Andean power centers to consider how the interconnectedness of spatial constructs,

textiles, and iconography has been materialized in the Andes over time. Looking briefly at textile examples from Paracas, Wari, and Chancay cultures of the pre-contact period, and at a contemporary Aymara example in present-day Chile, I lay out a basis for why we should think about Inka textiles —and their border aspects particularly— as having correlations to an Inka ideology that interpreted territorial borders as fluid, transitional, and transformative borderland spaces rather than "closed" boundaries.

A Paracas Protective Periphery

An attention to border elements can be found in many examples from the Paracas and Nasca cultures of Peru's southern desert coast. Anne Paul assesses a significant attention to border symbolism in textiles found in mummy bundles at the Necrópolis de Wari Kayan in the Paracas peninsula on Peru's arid south coast, dating to as early as 100 BCE and demonstrative of an elite high-status textile tradition. In discussing the types of motifs seen in Paracas/Topará style textiles, Paul notes that textile border areas carry visual information that seems to have "place of primacy" in comparison to the other design elements and so she distinguishes the type of information the border patterning conveys from the imagery arranged on the textile's body.[101] While among the Paracas/Topará sample set it is not unusual to find textiles without motifs in the textiles' field (*pampa*) areas, it is fairly unusual to find textiles

[101] Anne Paul, "Protective Perimeters: The Symbolism of Borders on Paracas Textiles," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics,* No.38 (Autumn 2000): 153.

without marked border areas. Furthermore, the border areas show a consistency in format over centuries, even while the field areas of textiles seem to change, a conservatism in design that conveys something particularly important about the border detailing.[102] While Paul emphasizes that the motifs typically seen in the band areas or borders —mostly showing two types of symmetrical arrangements, "glide reflection" or "bifold rotation"[103] —can be seen to reflect weaving structure such as oblique interlacing of threads, the fact that they are often used at the *borders* of garments, and that border areas tend *not* to change very much over time, raises the symbolic stakes. In this linear style embroidered Paracas mantle in the LACMA collection, the twisted/braided expression comes through even with more elaborate visual overlays, as seen in the intertwined double-headed serpent forms with feline characteristics that trace the top and bottom perimeters of the textile (Fig. 3).

[102] Ibid., 153.
[103] Ibid., 149-152. Paul, referencing another scholar, offers this definition: "glide reflection = 'simultaneous translation and longitudinal reflection resulting in alternate right and left images along the axis of the bands,' and bifold rotation, 180 degree 'rotation about a series of equally spaced axes.'"

Fig. 3. Paracas Mantle, Early Intermediate Period, c. 200 BCE - 200 CE. Camelid fiber plain weave with stem stitch and loop stitch embroidery, 57 1/4 x 98 1/8 in. Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) no. 67.4 (image in the public domain)

Paul notes that in example after example we see the edges of garments and other objects marked with imagery connotative of fabric structures: "there is a rather striking number and variety of early Paracas artifacts in which twisted or braided strands establish the boundary between the object and what lies beyond.[104]" This suggests that the idea of creating separateness at the border—confirming a firm line or division between "interior" and "exterior" spaces seemed very important to this culture. In her study, Paul also references information obtained from contemporary weavers in another area of the Andes, in present-day Bolivia, who express what perhaps the Paracas culture are expressing about textile borders, that textile borders "offer some sort of protection to what is inside, that they keep the inner life of the

[104] Ibid., 159.

fabric protected from what is outside its edges."[105] Referencing research by Denise Y. Arnold and Elvira Espejo, Paul remarks that in the Andes textiles are often conceived of as completed and come to life when the borders are finished and that, furthermore, this is also correlated to how agricultural fields are thought of as expanses that are completed when their borders are finished.[106] In association, having motifs that invoke twisting fibers may bring to bear the idea that something has been fully realized or has come to life. The border in this sense would also preserve the life or energy of the textile's interior field. At a more basic level, the formal language of braiding and twisting motifs at the borders conveys the weaving process in general and we can delve into this to understand weaving as a metaphor in general for how spaces should be contained (sourced in the practical need to close off fabric constructions on the loom or when removed from the loom so that a given textile structure does not come undone).

What I am suggesting throughout this discussion is that while the textile necessarily becomes a space that must materially and technically be distinguished from the exterior (so that the fabric does not unravel, in practical terms, and so that the sanctity of the meaning a fabric may hold does not unravel, in ideological terms), there are variations to how interiority versus exteriority is conceptualized or treated ideologically as expressed through the material. Across many examples of textiles in

[105] Ibid., 164.
[106] Ibid.

different historical periods in the Andes there is an insistent attention to technique in the border areas and border motifs that gives way to a more ideological or conceptual scope, depending on the particular culture's attitudes to the edges of space in general. The edge (in textiles but also in a broader sense of space) *matters* and what happens at the edge matters differently to different groups according to their paramount socio-political, religious, or other rhetoric.

In relation to the examples of Paracas border motifs with their braided or twisted forms, Paul notes these motifs were also seen in visual culture examples from the temple site of Chavín de Huantar (c. 900- 200 BCE), located in a high mountain valley pass in the central Andes of Peru, which overlapped with the Paracas cultural output. The Chavín de Huantar site is thought to have been a pilgrimage and ceremonial center and followed a religious/spiritual program that incorporated composite and anthropomorphic beings into its belief system. The imagery at Chavín de Huantar often is described as esoteric and the suggestion is that much of the iconography and layout of the site lent itself to "specialized" viewing, accessible only to initiates of the spiritual practices carried out there.[107] The various composite beings seen in relief carvings throughout the site, for example, are difficult to categorize in terms of their identities, although their gestures come forward a little

[107] See for example, Richard Burger, "The Construction of Values during the Peruvian Formative," in *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World,* ed. John K. Papadopoulos and Gary Urton (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute, UCLA, 2012); Richard L. Burger, *Chavin and the Origins of Andean Civilization* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995).

more clearly: we see beings in frontal stances holding staffs (i.e. the Staff God type which becomes a familiar iconographic form throughout the Andes during this time period) suggesting power figures, other figures with multiple visages laid out using contour rivalry such that the outlines of one face overlap with the outlines of another face, etc. In many of these carvings we also see the design motifs of braided or twisted strands, sometimes also rendered to represent serpent forms, and sometimes appearing in "border" areas. This iconography is also seen in portable objects associated with the Chavín culture. Its frequent use at the temple site itself suggests that braiding/twisting could mark sacred spaces in the same way that is suggested about Paracas textile borders—i.e. that braiding/twisting expresses enclosure or marking certain spaces from other spaces: "images of twisted and interlaced strands are associated with hallowed locations, sacred icons, and precious ceremonial artifacts."[108]

However, perhaps the twisting and twining motifs at Paracas and at Chavín de Huantar can yield other interpretations too. Twisting and twining also expresses how strength comes through the reinforcement of two or more threads of opposite tension intertwined. Textile specialists note details in fiber structure such as the direction of the twist of a thread (designated as S-spun or Z-spun) as it is spun from the raw fiber and whether it is plied with one or two other threads to form a more secure weft or warp yarn (and plied threads are also characterized by the direction of the ply). This

[108] Paul, 161-62.

detail is significant structurally because when spin and ply direction are contrary the yarn is more stable.[109] It is possible that motifs of braided threads convey the merging of things of opposing "direction" that when combined create a useful tension. This would resonate with a general Andean perspective regarding complementary dualism and the notion of balance and creative potential that results when opposing forces combine. This, I suggest, is one of the implications that may have held continued resonance among the much later Inka culture and their use of textiles to express certain ideological notions.

The Warring Edges of the Wari Space

In this textile example of the Wari culture, the border aspects reinforce the perceptual complexity of the central patterning/motifs by contrasting with expanses of plain dark/brown weave (Fig. 4). This Wari male textile tunic's design aligns with a recurrent trend in imagery throughout the Andean textile tradition, which Rebecca Stone summarizes effectively: "Illegible patterning soundly displaces the viewer in favor of the weaver and the cloth itself—which, visible or not, contains those images and so transfers their power."[110]

[109] Dwight T. Wallace "The Process of Weaving Development on the Peruvian Coast," in *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, May 19-20, 1973, ed. Ann Pollard Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, Anne-Louise Schaffer (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks and The Textile Museum, 1979), 32.
[110] Rebecca R. Stone, *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca*, 3rd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 190.

Fig. 4. Wari *unku*/ tunic. Middle Horizon, c. 500-1000 CE. Interlocked tapestry weave; 37 x 41 in., Textile Museum, Washington DC; Object ID 91.9 (photograph by the author)

The patterning is not completely illegible, however, and has been recognized as being composed of a stepped fret pattern in alternation with half a face marked by paint encircling an eye and then forming a rectangular drip. In this close-up of the motif, the face is seen on the left-hand side of the image, with the eye encircled with red pigment that then extends in a rectangle downwards; on the right-hand side is the stepped fret in red against a tan/ochre background (Fig. 5). This pattern nearly covers the entire tunic except for three areas towards the bottom half that are interspersed evenly and become areas of visual respite from the busied pattern surrounding them. The stepped-fret and face motif asserts the garment's side edges and raise the question of why or how the stepped-fret and face motifs are meant to be activating these borders.

Fig. 5. (Detail) Wari *unku*/ tunic, c. 500-1000 CE. Interlocked tapestry weave; 37 x 41 in. Textile Museum, Washington DC; Object ID 91.9 (photograph by the author)

Scholars have determined that the composite of colors and geometric forms arranged like this —the split screen image of a stepped fret and a geometricized, painted (partial) face—are references to warfare or a warrior category. The association of stepped frets and faces is seen in Wari ceramic objects that scholars suggest are figures of warriors and that have been found in significant quantities at various Wari sites. One site is Pacheco on Peru's south coast from what is termed the Middle Horizon Epoch 1B (700-850 CE) period. Patricia J. Knobloch references the ceramic type found here— showcasing males with faces painted with fret designs— as the "paramount warrior" type because it is frequently shown with what appear to be captive figures or holding weaponry, the suggestion being they were circulating during a particularly strife-ridden period for the Wari.[111] During this period, more or less, the Wari were carrying out territorial/war campaigns to the south of their capital in Ayacucho and had become enmeshed in a new cult practice that focused on anthropomorphic staff deities,[112] images of which also at times reference the

[111] Patricia J. Knobloch, "Archives in Clay: The Styles and Stories of Wari Ceramic Artists," in *Wari: Lords of the Ancient Andes*, ed. Susan E. Bergh (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2012), 129-30.
[112] Ibid., 126-27.

paramount warrior. In the subsequent period, c. 850-1000 CE, the face-fret design or fret-on-face imagery continues. We see this in a Wari ceramic effigy depicting a man adorned with the patterning on his face (Fig. 6). His face is divided into a pattern of triangles on the left and stepped frets on the right.

Fig. 6. Wari open-ended ceramic form/effigy, Viñaque style figure in tie-dyed tunic and four-cornered hat, Peru, c. 850-1000 CE. Ceramic and slip, 12 x 9 in., Museum Rietberg, Zurich, RPB 320 (photograph by Andreas Praefcke, in the public domain)

In *textile* forms such as in the example mentioned above, therefore, which also showcases the face and stepped fret motif, there is a strong possibility that a message about warfare or warriors is being encoded. And, because we see the element stressing the textile's *border* area, I suggest what is being stated is that the border is constantly being watched by the warrior element. Textiles can be associated with ideas about external versus internal spaces; in the context of the territorially conscious Wari, if they may invoke a landscape ideology wherein the textile web is metonymic

of territory, perhaps through this textile the message is that the edges of Wari territory were being carefully surveilled.

The Changing Borders of a Chancay Unku

There is an example from a selection of *unkus* of the Late Horizon period (c. 1476-1532) found across various museological collections worth commenting on with respect to its borders. This *unku* example suggests a specific style set associated with the highlands, a set typically composed with a patterned area of alternating stripes or diamond/rhomboids in the main textile web that is then supplemented with a stepped border motif at the periphery (Fig. 7).[113] According to Ann P. Rowe, the *unkus* of this highland style type are mostly thought to originate from the Chillón Valley in Peru's central highlands and the stepped block border detail—although an added factor to the main body/web of the textile—seems to be a key index of their highland identity. In this example, we can see the stepped border, characterized as it is by a high contrast of white/black or light/dark yarns configured into a stepped block design.

[113] Ann Pollard Rowe, "Technical Reflections of Highland-Coastal relationships," in *Textiles, Technical Practice, and Power in the Andes,* edited by Denise Y. Arnold and Penelope Dransart (London: Archetype, 2014), 162.

Fig. 7. Chancay *Unku*/ tunic, (Central highland Inka influence but perhaps Chillón Valley), c. 1450-1550. Camelid hair tapestry weave in main pattern area and likely dovetailed warp in stepped border section at bottom, H. 22 x W. 34 in., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1979.206.954 (image in the public domain)

The typical composition of this style set (the striped patterning in the main web plus the stepped block borders) is also translated to textiles found in *coastal* contexts, on textiles Rowe has associated with the Chancay culture, which developed in the area around present-day Lima, and that seem to be *imitations* of the highland ones. Interestingly, a variant of this *unku/*tunic type was found at Pachacamac, a coastal ceremonial site south of Lima with a long history that became very important within an Inka religious network as well.[114] The Inkas integrated Pachacamac into their religious pantheon and turned it into an important nucleus for validation of Inka religious practices; the fact that such a textile type, with its stepped block border detailing, was circulating at Pachacamac on the empire's coastal edge may contribute

[114] Penelope Dransart, "Thoughts on Productive Knowledge in Andean Weaving with Discontinuous Warp and Weft," in *Textiles, Technical Practice, and Power in the Andes* (London: Archetype, 2014), 218.

to the idea that textiles and their edge areas resonated with the way territory and *its* edge areas was conceptualized.

Rowe analyzes how this style type carries over from the highland to the lowland/ coastal context. The border element sourced in the highland type seems to deviate from the way the coastal Chancay culture's weavers typically treated their border areas. In other words, the stepped block design at the border/edge of the garment seems to be emphasized as a marker of this other—highland— identity, now superimposed on the Chancay textile tradition. For example, where this tunic's border area is part of the weave structure of the main web/body, a more typical Chancay tunic border consists of a band of patterning that is woven separately from the main web and subsequently attached to it.[115] In another Chancay *unku* example, held at the Dallas Museum of Art, for example, the garment's bottom border consists of a separate tapestry structure that is stitched to the main web/body (Fig. 8).

[115] Ibid., 220. Dransart notes, too, that this highland tunic type has particularly peculiar structural features since the border area (with the block stepped patterning) is constructed with the same thread element "sometimes serving as a warp and sometimes as a weft. Equally, the weft also served periodically as a warp. Therefore, the warp was worn in the finished garment in both a vertical and a horizontal direction, as indeed was the weft."

Fig. 8. Chancay sleeved *unku*/ tunic, c.1450-1530. Cotton and camelid fiber (likely cotton warps and camelid wefts except for white areas which would most likely be cotton weft) in slit tapestry (weft-facing) technique with stripe and bird motifs, 18.5 x 53.5 in., image courtesy of the Dallas Museum of Art, 1988.45 (image in the public domain)

Chancay borders also tend to have smaller motif areas and many times incorporate zoomorphic or figural shapes melded with geometric forms, but nothing quite as simplified geometrically as the contrasting black/white stepped block pattern seen in the highland textiles. The border motifs in the example here combine diagonal frets with zoomorphic elements.

It is thought that the highland textile type of stepped block border design was introduced into the area via a highland administrative network, one in which the (highland) Inkas were the overriding power and the (highland) Chillón weavers "appear to have been acting on behalf of the Incas rather than on their own

account."[116] The coastal tunics imitating the Chillón (via Inka) highland style retain some coastal techniques but the overall effect was to link to the highland tradition; (expressions of lowland/coastal manufacture include: cotton rather than strictly camelid fibers, especially in the white thread areas, since local lowland cotton would be more pragmatic; also, coastal garments would have selvedge threads that were cut and turned to "finish" the edges rather than kept intact, disassociating them from elite highland types in which edge threads were not cut; plus the addition of sleeves to such garments locate them within coastal tradition) (Fig. 9).[117]

Fig. 9. *Unku/tunic; coastal Peru, (likely Chancay production with highland influence), c. 1460-1540. Camelid hair and cotton fiber, 19H x 47 W in., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983.497.1 (image in the public domain)*

[116] Rowe, "Technical Reflections of Highland-Coastal Relationships," 186.
[117] While cotton was used in highland garments, e.g. Inka tapestry garments sometimes use cotton warps, a coastal garment would more frequently have both warp and weft cotton elements. Sleeves on male tunics were not characteristic of the highlands and in the elite highland tunics (esp. of Inka) the practice was to finish a fabric with selvedges intact: no cutting.

What I am emphasizing in this review is that in these textile forms that are associated with a highland origin, the conceptualization of border spaces is given particular attention. The stepped block pattern is saying something about how the dominant highland powers exercised their idea of the "edge," which was different from the coastal conceptualization of the same. The highland *unku/*tunic type's border area is, as noted, part of the main web/body, not something separate or that separates interior from exterior. This I suggest may speak to how the highland power (the Inka administrative oversight) saw its imperial periphery as a space of constant flow or continuous interaction. Likewise, according to the highland model, the garment's edge with its jagged stepped design of black opposed to white is a boundary space that accentuates contrasts, finds value in opposition, and incorporates volatility into its essential structure.

Isluga Textiles That Eat at the Edges

Here I will point to another textile group that provides other suggestions about the importance and value of border areas within the visual rhetoric of textiles and weaving, although in a more contemporary Andean context. In a particular analysis of textiles in the ethnolinguistic Aymara community of Isluga in northern Chile during the 1970s, Veronica Cereceda looked at woven (potato) seed bags called *talegas* that were characterized by a design of alternating, vertically oriented broad and narrow stripes ("*bandas*" and "*listas*") that contrast both in tone and in width. In Isluga, these vertical stripes alternate to highlight the shifts in values between

different natural camelid colors. Cereceda comments on this not just as a pattern based on opposition and contrast but as one that expressed "mediation" that led to balance.[118] When she discusses the border areas of the *talegas,* she notes further expression of how contrasts are mediated. The term for the border or edge of these *talegas* is *laka* in Aymara, which translates to "mouth."[119] This suggests how the material or form under consideration operates for consumption (i.e. seed bags) but it also invokes the idea that this textile's border area is where inner and outer (spaces) come into interaction—where the inside eats/meets the outside.

Furthermore, Cereceda points out that the white and black stripes composing the bags' central patterning articulate extreme concepts. The white stripes convey light and openness while the black convey shadow and absolute closure—and the two are conceptually and tonally mediated by stripes of the color brown located sometimes at the center but always at the outer edges of the bags. She noted, furthermore, that in some examples the brown stripes at a bag's edges express a "degradation" in color and begin skewing towards lighter tones (this tended to occur when the interior oppositions of black/white striping were embellished with other lines/stripes of polychrome variety).[120] In these cases, the delimitation of the outer edges of the textile space is understood to become "porous" or less sealed in a way (Fig. 10).

[118] Veronica Cereceda, "Semiologia de los Textiles Andinos: Las Talegas de Isluga," *Chungará, Revista de Antropología Chilena*, v. 42, n. 1 (junio 2010): 195.
[119] Ibid., 187.
[120] Ibid.

Fig. 10. *Talega/ woven pouch, Isluga, (Aymara community) northern Chile, 20th century. Camelid fibers, 11 x 10 in., Colección Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, # 2031*

Cereceda's conversations with the weavers about this "opening of the border" area led to the appreciation that in such cases where the brown solidity of the border begins to dissipate, the *talega*/bag opens its mouth and speaks, or "extends its territory."[121] Here, then, in this contemporary weaving context, we see how border spaces can also transmit notions of exchange and crossing over what otherwise be thought of as a space that marks separation. Her study reiterates that in discussion of textiles it is common for language invoking relationships to land—i.e. territory— to arise, something that I stress in this study of Inka textiles.

In the Cereceda study, stripe areas can be areas of discontinuity and separation but, at their edges, they also offer ambiguity. At the edge space, stripes with color degradation reflect the porousness between inside and outside spaces, posing these

[121] Ibid., 188.

edge spaces also as sites of conjoining, allowing the periphery to also be a space of trespass or crossing of thresholds, and perhaps thus marking these stripe areas as areas of tension or even productive interaction.[122] The stripes may be thought of as useful zones of mediation between the space external to the bag form and its internal space.

Despite twists and turns of history, textiles in the Andes today have adhered to the stability and geometric allure of the rectangular form, which continues to transmit dense meaning. When one talks about the textile *form* in the Andes one refers to the square/rectangular matrix and its purpose (for example, what dimensions are needed for a bag, mantle, tunic, belt matrix or web, etc.) broadly, and then, more closely, to its details of *listas, pampas, pallays*—the areas that create order on the textile form and that convey more *particular* meaning but not *exclusive* meaning (see Appendix for more about the component parts of the typical Andean textile). When we refer to men's garments broadly, there is a consistent attention to design areas composed of vertical stripes*/listas*, although within the Inka imperial repertoire the visual vocabulary expands substantially to include a variety of motifs called *tuqapu* (discussed in chapter 2). When we discuss the *pallay* (patterned) areas of a woman's *lliklla*, the reference often is towards *local* associations and local relational

[122] Ibid., 195. Cereceda's description of the alternating *chhurus* and *qallus* (*bandas* and *listas*) suggests this: "Cada chhuru recibe exactamente su opuesto total como complemento: un chhuru (ancho) claro recibe junto así un qallu (angosto) oscuro, mientras una banda oscura recibe una lista clara. El equilibrio se logra así mediante el 'intercambio de las diferencias'."

experiences. For this reason, it is not useful to try to attach singular meaning to particular motifs within a textile's *pallay* area across the board or across geographies/locales. However, we can recognize that in all cases motifs articulate spatial relationships and often seem to pose space in ways that allude to the inhabited space, raising questions of how relationships are expressed on the land, or that suggest land use or visualizations of landscape to one degree or another.

The chapter explores how "space" is something produced through human interactions and their movements, performances, and imaginings with regard to their surroundings, and particularly puts emphasis on the question of how Andeans over time have conceptualized—through the textile medium—that event or that experience where one type of space ends and another begins. It considers how Andean textiles can be seen as visual references to the larger inhabited Andean space and, with respect to the pre-Inka culture, can be seen as expressions of territory and the edges of territory. Its review of textile examples from various points in Andean history establishes that there is precedent for analyzing elite Inka textiles for the ways in which they convey notions of space that include the inhabited space and that particularly invite interpretations about the edges of spaces within a discourse of territory and how territory was conceptualized.

The following chapter will explore other ways in which the edges of space were conceptualized and visualized in Inka textiles, namely through surface elements such

as motifs. In analysis of the highly regulated textiles associated with the pre-contact Inka state, we can point to certain motifs that seem to emphasize the edges or peripheries of a given field in such a way as to further raise aspects of territoriality nested in the textile language. Much of the symbolic code of Inka motifs remains undeciphered but in chapter 2 I examine possible reasons why the category of motifs that expresses a zigzag pattern (called *q'inqu* in Quechua) is seen on many men's and women's garments. It is often visually associated with the perimeter areas on these garments, which I suggest reflects notions of Inka territory or otherwise is used in ways that reference an ideology or worldview regarding borders or border objects.

Chapter Two

Bordering on Chaos: Order and the Virtues of Volatility in the Inka Empire

Weaving among the Inkas

It is important to extrapolate how the Inkas harnessed an elite, tapestry weaving practice and particular motifs within a weaving language for the interests of empire, essentially shaping fabrics into an apparatus of state. This chapter reviews textiles as a medium that— through their material and formal and design qualities— could transmit for the Inkas ideas and experiences of the lived space or environment, and that as such served as metonyms for Inka territory. The chapter looks at the geometric motifs called *tuqapu* seen on men's garments but also examines more closely a detail of zigzag embroidery seen at the selvedges /edges of Inka *unkus*, or tunics, suggesting they communicate something about the Inka state's conceptualization of the "edges" of its empire. I claim, furthermore, that for the Inkas textile border areas could be seen as references to territorial border areas. These would be interpreted as inherently active zones where exchange between interior and exterior interests was to be expected and perhaps even integrated into a state ideology of productive tension—as if the flux edge space energized the state's territorial extremities.

There are primary factors that distinguished the Inkas' fine, prestigious state textiles from those of other Andean cultures. The "high status" Inka textile language is first

evident in details of surface and structure. As an overriding category, there is the high status *qumpi*, which comprised the very finest of Inka fabrics, and is a term applicable to the Inka garments referenced throughout this dissertation. *Qumpi* (variously spelled *qombi, cumbi*, *ccumpi,* in colonial chronicles) as a designate of fineness is thought to refer to the tapestry (weft-facing) structures of a very high thread count that were equally complete on the front face as on the reverse side (i.e. reversible) and were finished entirely on the loom.[123] The most common term used as counter to *qumpi* was likely *awasqa*, which was descriptive of coarse or common fabric. The term *tuqapu*, mentioned above as a word that describes the motifs seen on male tapestry textiles as well as other visual culture objects in Inka culture, is discussed by Margarita E. Gentile as in fact being a term that applied to a quality of cloth rather than a motif or design type.[124] There are disputing notions of what *tuqapu* encompasses as with the word *qumpi* but aspects of fine quality seem to have been attached to it.

Elena Phipps notes that the characteristic of creating a finished fabric on the loom is different from most weaving traditions, which more typically cut a textile web/body from the loom to be finished off-loom; to finish a cloth while it is still *on* the loom—i.e., with un-cut and un-adjusted edges—requires a significant amount of forethought

[123] Diego González Holguín, in his *Vocabulario*, or dictionary of Quechua, writes: "*ccumpiscca,* o ccumpi, o *ccumpi paccha*: ropa fina texida de *cumpi*" which does not really elucidate exactly what "*cumpi*" entails. See Diego González Holguín's *Vocabulario de la Lengua General de todo el Peru Llamada Lengua Qquichua, o del Inca*, 71.
[124] Margarita E. Gentile. "Tocapu: Unidad de Sentido En El Lenguaje Gráfico Andino." *Revista Espéculo* 45 (2010): 1.

and planning with regard to how size and structure will yield a specific design field and form suitable for a predetermined use.[125] Inka fabrics and their patterning were planned out so that there would be no excess threads at the warp ends, therefore no cutting. At both warp ends (i.e., at the top and bottom of the fabric web as it is stretched out on the loom) what you would see instead were the loops with which the warps (vertical threads) had wrapped around a heading cord and these loops would, at the end of the weaving process, be chained together to "seal" the garment along its edges.[126] This "enclosure" of the garment was often further accentuated with embroidered side seams and bottom edges. The side seams on many garments have an applied figure-eight stitch at the sides, and also along the *unku's* bottom hem. This is seen in the closeup example of an Inka interlocking tapestry *unku* held at the Fowler Museum at UCLA (Fig. 11).

[125] Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwor, 1530-1830*, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 18. See also same book, *The Colonial Andes,* 86, further explaining how the process of ensuring the warp-end of the garment would look completely finished meant that the warp-end loops that originally held the heading cord at the top of the loom (and which strengthens the textile matrix/structure) were chained together to "close" the textile panel without need of cutting excess threads. The Inka practice of having already in-place heading cords that would not be cut meant that the tapestry had to be carefully planned beforehand as there was little room for error as one approached the already "sealed" edge.

[126] See Ann Pollard Rowe, "Technical Features of Inca Tapestry Tunics," *The Textile Museum Journal*, 17 (1979): 7. The "complete" fabrication of textiles on the loom so that they do not need to be cut is also seen in Paracas necropolis textiles at Warp Karan. See Anne Paul, "The Symbolism of borders on Paracas Textiles," in *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, Autumn, 200, No. 8 (Autumn, 2000): 145).

Fig. 11. Inka checkerboard (*qullqapata*) *unku*/ tunic, c. 1438-1532. Cotton warp (3-ply, s-direction), camelid hair weft (z-spun, s-plied), camelid hair embroidery, tapestry weave with interlocked joins, woven neck slit, embroidered edges, 35 x 32 in., The Fowler Museum, University of California, Los Angeles, No. X86.3960

We can see the multicolored—red, yellow ochre, green) figure-eight stitch that goes from the side edges and follows along the bottom of the garment. In the closeup image we can also see the added detail of a zigzag embroidery stitch that runs along the bottom hem, right up against the figure eight stitching (which appears as sequences of thick and narrow red, yellow, and green bands) that "seals" the garment.

The interest in creating a "sealed" web/matrix is something that was touched on with respect to other Andean weaving cultures in chapter 1 and then noted above with respect to how the elite tapestry workshops of the Inkas were careful to make their textile webs hermetically contained forms, with no loose threads at the selvedges (edges). However, certain Inka textiles within the category of male *unkus* (tunics) have another detail at the "edge" that merits further discussion. This is the zigzag form that is embroidered onto the fabric web frequently towards the bottom edge of elite *unkus*, and sometimes along the side seams. It is a pattern that suggests

movement and activity in contrast to the figure-eight stitching that seals the garment, thus creating a visual tension that challenges just how "sealed" the garment is. While the figure eight stitch embroidery that closes the garment's perimeters could have been used mainly as a way to strengthen the fabric's integrity, it should be noted that the zigzag embroidery detailing —placed very close to the garment's edge— is entirely superfluous to the textile's structure and has no functional purpose. Nor, I argue, is it purely decorative. In my analysis of male *unkus* that have this zigzag embroidery supplement, I suggest the textiles serve as metonyms for Inka territory and that the zigzag embroidery that gets very close to the selvedges /edges communicates something about the way the Inka state perceived the "edges" of its empire. I contend it communicates the idea that border areas are inherently active zones where exchange between interior and exterior interests is to be expected and perhaps even integrated into a state ideology of productive tension—as if the flux boundary space energizes the state's territorial extremities.

This framing would resonate with a comprehension of relational interactions, rooted in Indigenous notions that positionality, one's own as well as that of the "other," deserve equal recognition. Another way to discuss relationality is through the idea of reciprocity. As a Métis scholar who has studied Inuit culture, Zoe Todd discusses positionality and relationality and references, for example, "reciprocity of thinking": "Reciprocity of thinking requires us to pay attention to who else is speaking alongside us. It also positions us, first and foremost, as citizens embedded in dynamic legal

orders and systems of relations that require us to work constantly and thoughtfully across the myriad systems of thinking, acting, and governance within which we find ourselves enmeshed."[127] Even though Todd is removed in time and place from the Inka context I am broaching, her words have some bearing on how we might interpret Inka notions of reciprocal or relational engagement, particularly as she references reciprocity or relationality across "myriad systems," which I propose the Inkas were doing as well, including those systems or relationships that had to do with territory.

We know the Inkas were heavily invested in reciprocity and we see it applied to "systems" that extend beyond the social and into the political-economic and even territorial. For example, we see it expressed in the Andean social practices termed "*ayni*" and "*mink'a*," two forms of reciprocal interaction that had currency within Inka social structure as well:

"The *ayllu* [extended kin group/community] collectively owned a specific territory and water rights and annually redistributed the land among the membership on the basis of need. […] [M]embers had a large number of reciprocal obligations to each other, which provided the impetus for cooperation in tasks requiring collective action, such as plowing, harvesting, and building and maintenance projects. This obligation

[127] Zoe Todd, "An Indigenous Feminist's Take on the Otological Turn: 'Ontology' is Just Another Word for Colonialism," *Journal of Historical Sociology* Vol. 29, No. 1, (March 2016): 19.

for labor exchange is referred to as *ayni* in Quechua. A parallel concept is *mink'a*, which refers to calling upon exchange partners to perform labor that is owed."[128]

In the Indigenous Andean context, furthermore, relationality as expressed in ideas of reciprocity could incorporate asymmetrical relationships with ease; a given *ayllu*/community might also establish labor and exchange relations with another *ayllu* or, in the case of the Inka state, an *ayllu* would provide work as part of the labor tax owed to the state administrative arm or religious arm. In other words, difference and even hierarchical difference was accepted and negotiated regularly, and continually, within the relational. As relationality acknowledges one's position in relation to other entities and individuals (be they natural, supernatural, human, nonhuman) in a connective social web, this relationality may even extend to the presence of the "outsider" or "other," or enemy, who can be seen as having a potent position; perhaps the enemy is seen as inferior, and acknowledged as different, but potent nonetheless and part of a connectivity across social, cultural, political, and even spiritual spheres. And, as a medium that could transmit ideas and experiences of the lived environment— through their material and formal and design qualities— Inka textiles were key factors in expressing the Inkas' relational understanding of that environment and communicating this to the outside viewer.

[128] Gordon McEwan, *The Incas: New Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford: ABC Clio, 2006), 97.

Inka Identity in Cloth

The early seventeenth century Jesuit priest Bernabé Cobo writes about the main clothing types worn by the Inkas, offering insight into an imperial wardrobe that helped visualize state power. Although Cobo was writing in 1609, so more than two generations after the Spanish invasion, he notes the main textile garment types that have also been found in the archaeological record.[129] Garments associated with Inka males included the woven tunic or *unku* mentioned above and the cloak or mantle called the *yaqolla;* there was also the loincloth called the *wara*; and then there are the coca bags, called *ch'uspa*, particular styles of which were associated with elite males.[130] Women's garments included a long gown called an *aksu*, a shawl or mantle called a *lliklla*, and belts called *chumbi*.[131] Of this assortment of men's and women's wear, the type that will be of particular interest in this chapter is the man's *unku* or tunic of a tapestry woven (weft-faced) structure that during the Inka empire was associated with imperial power and prestige.

Standardization in Men's Clothing

Elite Inka men's tunics, called *unkus*, were woven in the technique that is also typical of other previous elite highland weaving traditions: interlocking tapestry

[129] Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 18.
[130] Lauren Finley Hughes, "Weaving Imperial Ideas: Iconography and Ideology of the Inca Coca Bag," in *Textile*, Vol.8, Issue 2 (2010): 148-178.
[131] These are the Quechua terms. The *aksu* had a variant, *anaku*, that was used more in northern Peru, southern Ecuador. See, for reference, Blenda Femenias, "Structure, Design, and Gender in Inka Textiles," in *PreColumbian Textile Conference VII / Jornadas de Textiles PreColombinos VII,* ed. Lena Bjerregaard and Ann Peters (Lincoln, NE: Zea Books, 2017): 344.

(weft-facing), also recognized as discontinuous color/weft.[132] A tapestry, or weft-facing fabric, is created when the weft, or horizontal, threads are more numerous and packed more densely in a weave structure so as to obscure the underlying warp (vertical) threads. This type of technique is more laborious in the way that the Inkas wove their tapestry textiles on upright looms that were wide (almost seven feet wide) and low (no more than thirty-one inches tall) wherein the warp (vertical threads) formed the short end of the textile web.[133] The tension on this type of loom is not adjustable and so as the weaver approaches the top/end of the structure the weaving process becomes constrained, a labor-oriented process that exceeds the requirements of the fabrication process: "The warp in this typically highland loom type was unwieldy in width and constricted in length…The short warp length made it difficult to separate the warp yarns for weft insertion in the shed. Much of the weaving must have been accomplished with a needle."[134] (This would be versus a backstrap loom, for example, which is the more common type of loom among Andean inhabitants and that because it is looped around the woman's back, relies on the woman's body for tension adjustment.) The most fine tapestry examples of elite Inka men's *unkus* (woven on the upright looms as such) showcase a thread count of as high as 15 warps and 100 wefts per centimeter (or per less than half an inch), which is an astounding quality of threadwork.

---

[132] See William J. Conklin "Structure as Meaning in Andean Textiles," in *Chúngara: Revista de Antropología Chilen*a, Vol. 29, No.1 (Enero/Junio 1997): 109-131; see also Amy Oakland Rodman and Vicki Cassman, "Andean Tapestry: Structure Informs the Surface," *Art Journal*, Vol. 54, No. 2, Conservation and Art History (Summer 1995): 33-39.
[133] Rodman and Cassman, 34.
[134] Ibid.

Taking into account that the archaeological record of elite Inka garments is limited, what the surviving pieces do suggest is a fairly constrained iconographic program. The iconography found on pre-contact male *unkus*/tunics has been discussed more thoroughly than that on women's garments, beginning with John Rowe's key review of *unkus* and his assessment of "standardized" design sets gleaned in the archaeological record and corroborated in illustrations produced by the early seventeenth-century Indigenous chronicler, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, whose textual and visual descriptions of pre-contact Andean/Inka culture are extremely valuable.[135] John Rowe reviewed a series of elite *unkus* that, as part of standardized sets, would have been carefully guarded in production and circulation by the Inka state. These *qumpi unku* were sleeveless sheaths typically about 28-32 inches wide that fell above the knees. They were completed on the loom without the need of tailoring or cutting and were typically constructed as an interlocking weft-faced structure, which is to say the process was very carefully plotted out and laborious and was as much an expression of *process* as it was of color, texture, and fine fiber. They are also recognized through their display of the discrete geometric patterning (which tapestry weaving is especially good for) that the Inkas favored.[136] The geometric patterns were set within small square or rectangular shapes called *tuqapu*s, within

[135] Rowe, "Technical Features of Inca Tapestry Tunics," 6.
[136] See Conklin, "Structure as Meaning in Andean Textiles," Rodman & Cassman, "Andean Tapestry: Structure Informs Surface"; See also Mary Frame, "What Guaman Poma Shows Us, But Doesn't Tell Us, About Tokapu," *Ñawpa Pacha: Journal of Andean Archaeology*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (2010) 25-54; also see Femenias, "Structure, Design, and Gender in Inka Textiles," 345.

which the geometric shapes were arranged in various combinations of form, scale, symmetry, rotation, contrast and negative/positive relationships, color.[137]

Ann Pollard Rowe summarizes John Rowe's technical and formal notes on these elite Inka *unku* types: the garment forms were woven sideways, i.e. the warp threads' vertical nature on the loom would become horizontal when the garment was worn on the body; the neck slot of the garments is not "cut" into the fabric but is woven in with a discontinuous warp technique called scaffolding; the horizontal weft threads are interlocking, meaning when there is a change in weft thread color, the two threads interlock around one another in between warp threads; the any weft color ends are woven back into the structure so that the fabric appears smooth on both sides, completely reversible; the average tunic size was 90-95 cm high and 75-77 cm wide; there is typically embroidered finishing along the armholes and neck slot and the lower edges of the garments.[138]

In addition, according to John Rowe's review, we see the elite male Inka *unkus* in four main variations of motif or *tuqapu* arrangement, which I illustrate here (Figs. 12-15):

[137] For more about the typical variations, see for example: Mary Frame, "Tukapu, Un Código Gráfico de los Inkas, Segunda Parte: Las Configuraciones y Familias de los Elementos" *Sistemas de Notación Inca: Quipu y Tocapu, Actos del Simposio Internacional Lima 15-17 de enero de 2009*, ed. Carmen Arellano Hoffmann (Lima: Ministerio de Cultura, 2014), 247-282.
[138] Rowe, "Technical Features of Inca Tapestry Tunics," 7.

1. *Unku/tunic with tuqapu waist band*: the *unku* examples of this type have two (or three) rows of nine to ten *tuqapus* of a more rectangular (as opposed to square) shape with their various geometric designs; the *tuqapus* appear in diagonal repetition across two (or three) rows/ bands at the garment's waist level.[139] The textile ground color surrounding the waistband varies (some are dark brown, black, purple) and the *tuqapu* motif colors include black, red, yellow, white, tan, green. In an early seventeenth-century rendition of the first Inka ruler, Manco Qhapaq, commissioned by the Spanish Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa's as an historical account of Peru and the Inkas (*Historia General del Piru,* also known as the *Getty Murúa*), the Indigenous artist points out the embellishing details of the figure's *unku* (Fig. 12).[140]

[139] John Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," in *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference, May 19th-20th 1973* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks and The Textile Museum, 1979): 251.

[140] Thomas B.F. Cummins, "The Images in Murúa's Historia General del Piru: An Art Historical Study," in *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of Martín de Murúa's Historia General del Piru, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16*, ed. Thomas B.F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 151-52. Cummins notes that the portraits of the Inka kings and queens depicted in two manuscripts known to scholarship, commissioned by Martín de Murúa, were likely created by Indigenous artists or groups of artists; in a stylistic and material analysis, he suggests that although the Indigenous chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala contributed imagery to part of Murúa's endeavor, he likely was not the creator of any of the Murúa manuscripts' portraits of Inka kings.

Fig. 12. “Mango Capac, Primero Ynga.” [The first Inka ruler, Manco Qhapaq.] *Historia General del Piru*, 1616, de Fray Martín de Murúa (Getty Murúa, folio 21v) (image in the public domain)

The ruler carries emblems of his noble status, among which the woven geometric *tuqapu* at the waistband seems prominent. (Also of importance are the imperial feathered staff called the *suntur paucar* and the red royal fringe at his forehead, the *maskaypacha*.) Inka *unkus* with the *tuqapu* waistband would have most likely been reserved for the most elite if not royal members of the Inka establishment.[141] This portrait of Manco Qhapaq has two rows of waistband *tuqapus* while a similar portrait of Manco Qhapaq in the other Murúa manuscript (*Historia del Origen y Genealogía Real de los Reyes Incas del Perú,* also known as the *Galvin Murúa*) shows the first Inka ruler wearing an *unku* with three rows of *tuqapus* at the waistband. It is suggested that the Galvin Murúa may have served as template for the Getty’s portrait

[141] Joanne Pillsbury, “Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru,” *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 7 (2002): 83-87. Interestingly, waistbands previously associated with Inka royalty would proliferate in colonial period tunics, after Inka sumptuary regulations were no longer in place.

of Manco Qhapaq although they are not identical;[142] however, the two versions do play special attention to clothing details such as coloring in the garments and the description of waistband tuqapus, even if the two portraits express different *tuqapu* types.

2. *Unku/tunic with concentric diamond/rhombus waist band:* in *unkus* of this type, an average 6-8 rhombus units run along a horizontal band at about the waist level. The *unkus* have ground colors of white, black, and red.[143] Within the diamond/rhombus shapes at the waist are nested or concentric smaller diamonds, sometimes straight-sided, sometimes stepped. In the example included here, held at the Metropolitan Museum, we see the stepped and nested rhomboid pattern (Fig. 13).

Fig. 13. Inka *unku*/tunic with waistband concentric rhombus/diamond motifs, 1460-1540. Tapestry weave with embroidered detail. Camelid and cotton fiber; 29 W x 35 L in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, c. No. 1982.365 (image in the public domain)

[142] Cummins, "The Images in Murúa's Historia General del Piru: An Art Historical Study," 153-54.
[143] Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," 251-52. These waist band types have the ground constructed with cotton fiber instead of camelid fiber.

The *unkus* of this type exhibit colors such as yellow, tan, black, green, red, white. According to Gail Silverman, the concentric rhomboid motif suggests landscape or space in that it is (contemporarily) referred to as symbolic of "*patas*" (steppes or terraces) or "*chakras*" (fields), which conforms to the Inka (and broadly Andean) cultivation practices on hillside/mountainside terraces.[144] Likewise, Tamara Bray notes that the rhombus motif in textiles, as well as in other archaeological specimens, is frequently displayed as a nested or concentric form; in her records, weavers frequently describe these nested rhombuses as *Inti* (Sun) or *q'ucha* (lake). Concentricity or nesting conceptually echoes spatial order in other contexts in the Andes, for example the socio-spatial division of the moiety, which in the Inka context was seen at the community level but also at the greater level of the empire. The rhombus motif appears with many variations apart from the concentric patterning discussed by Rowe.[145] The stepped rhomboid form as a variation of the base rhombus form is a common motif in Inka visual culture and, for example, can be associated with how the Inkas mediated state administrative functions with religious ones; Cornejo Guerrero suggests the stepped rhombus in three variants (complete, halved, or quartered) expresses Inka political power and socio-religious prestige in its

[144] Gail Silverman, "La Escritura Inca," 43.
[145] See Catherine Allen, "The Sadness of Jars," and Tamara L. Bray, "Exploring Inca State Religion through Material Metaphor," in *Religion, Archaeology, and the Material World*, ed. L. Fogelin. (Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations, 2008), 118-137.

symbolic invocation of the Sun and water, and by the extent to which it is seen on Inka state structures and material formats.[146]

3. *Unku/tunic with "Inka key" in checkered patterning across part of entire form*: this tunic includes seven or eight rows of "Inka key" designs consisting of a *tuqapu* motif defined by diagonal bars and dots of a certain color against a background of contrasting color. The greater part of the design on the tunic is composed of the "key" motif appearing in alternating colors, in a checkerboard pattern. In the "classic" sample Rowe studied of this type, he noted the "key" motif appeared in color contrasts/alternations of purple and yellow, yellow and red, blue and green and below that they have six horizontal stripes of (different) contrasting colors. Red and yellow checkered with (what appears to be) green and purple in the "key" motifs of the tunic seen in this example is balanced by alternating stripes of purple and red below them (Fig. 14).

[146] Miguel Antonio Cornejo Guerrero, "El Rombo Escalonado: un Símbolo de Poder Inka," *Revista Arqueológica Americana*, No. 24 Manifestaciones Simbólicas, Centro y Sur América (2006): 125-141.

Fig. 14. Inka *unku*/tunic with "Inka key" motif, c. 1400-1532. Tapestry weave with embroidered detailing at edge. camelid fiber, 33 7/8 x 29 1/8 in., Brooklyn Museum, # 86.224.133 (image in the public domain)

Variations on this classic "key" pattern are seen in different *tuqapus*.[147] According to Frame, the Inka key motif may be a reference to the quadripartite division of the Inka state (each quarter called a "*suyu*") that is composed of pairs of pairs and that is marked, furthermore, by an overarching moiety structure of upper/lower halves (or *hanan/hurin*) termed "*sayas.*"[148] Marie Timberlake analyzed the motif within this same scope in her dissertation.[149] Tom Cummins suggests that the motif is an abstracted representation of crossed body parts/bones, which would perhaps link this garment to ideas or practices of territorial conquest.[150] Joanne Pillsbury notes that it

[147] See for example references to variations in Mary Frame, "Tukapu, Un Código Gráfico de los Inkas," 257-58.
[148] Ibid., 259.
[149] Marie Timberlake, "The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History: Jesuit and Andean Visions in Conflict in Matrimonio de García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatríz," PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 2001) 166-67.
[150] Cummins, *Toasts with the Incas*, 93-94.

may have parallel meaning to the checkered tunics with proposed military significance (see below) since it is these two *unku*/tunic types that appear to have been most regulated in scale —suggestive of "military issue"—and that also appear in greatest quantity in the archaeological record, correlative to the scale of the army as a category of Inka social organization.[151] A technical aspect is also shared in common between this "key" type and the checkerboard type addressed below, which is that they have their weft and warp threads made of alpaca, versus the waistbanded tunic types that have typically alpaca wefts but cotton warps—an interesting structural decision that may be a kind of notation to how the textiles were meant to move within imperial circuits.[152] However, Pillsbury also notes this tunic type was found as an offering alongside a young girl sacrificed as part of an Inka ritual ceremony on Cerro Llullaillaco and that the complexity of its meaning becomes amplified thus.[153] I would suggest that the "Inka key" tunics may still bring the idea of military action or military identity to bear in this context, since the young maidens in mountain sacrifices such as this were often figures associated with conquered territories, and so their bodies in relation to the military-tinged meaning of the textile were another way the Inkas visualized territorial acquisition.

---

[151] Pillsbury, 75.

[152] The checkerboard types have been associated with the Inka military class, and perhaps the dual alpaca structural elements reinforced the Cusco highland identity even as the military extended its reach into non-highland areas, like the coast, where, incidentally most of these checkered types have been found. In contrast, the waistband *unkus*, with cotton warps and alpaca wefts, may reinforce the access that the highland Cuzqueños had to the coastal regions where the cotton warps would have been sourced from. The waistband *unku* types have been associated with the very highest levels of elite nobility. See Rowe, "Technical Features of Inca Tapestry Tunics," 7.

[153] Pillsbury, 76.

4. *Unku/tunic with checkerboard squares/tuqapu*: this type typically combines black—or very dark brown or purple—and white squares across the majority of an *unku*'s front and back. In scholarship that references early chroniclers, this design type is often associated with military attire.[154] In the examples of "checkerboard" tunics that Rowe studied, he noted that the majority showcase an overall checkerboard pattern of squares/*tuqapus* in alternating colors interrupted by a stepped pattern at the neck, colored red. The checkered pattern created by *tuqapus* of alternating colors surfaces in many other examples that are not part of this standardized set, although patterns of "empty" checkers are not as frequently seen.[155] Tom Zuidema refers to the checkerboard pattern as "*collcapata*" (*qullqapata*). *"Collca" or "qullqa"* were the storehouses set up by the Inkas across their territory that were critical to military campaigns, which required sustaining troops across vast distances (discussed further below); "*pata*" refers to the hillside/mountainside terraces upon which many of these *qullqas* were set.[156] Joanne Pillsbury adds that because of the high quality (labor-intensive process) behind this *unku* type, if it were a military garment it would likely have been attire for an elite echelon of military men, perhaps only to be worn on ceremonial occasions.[157] This detail image of a

[154] Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," 243. Rowe references *Noticia del Peru*, MS, f. 7 vsa.; 1918: 323.
[155] For variations noted on the checkered pattern (*damero*) see Frame, "Tukapu, Un Código Gráfico de los Inkas," 264-66.
[156] Silverman, *Los Signos del Imperio Tomo I*, 112-114. She suggests another reference for the checkerboard patterning, removing it from the military context.
[157] Pillsbury, 75.

checkerboard *unku* held at the Los Angeles Museum of Art shows up-close the effect of the alternating and contrasting color blocks that evoke terracing and also brings forward the fine thread count that is one of the defining features of a high quality *qumpi* textile structure (Fig. 15). (See Fig. 19 for the full view.)

Fig. 15. Detail of Inka *unku*/tunic of *qullqapata*/checkerboard type, 1470-1532 CE. Camelid fiber and cotton tapestry weave, 34 3/8 × 31 1/4 in., Los Angeles Museum of Art, M.76.45.8 (image in the public domain)

Terracing as a form of agricultural intervention seen throughout the highlands transforms hillsides and mountainsides into areas (essentially microclimates) for viable cultivation of crops that otherwise would be unable to thrive because of the terrain and/or climate conditions. Terracing creates stepped gradations along the edges of these spaces, another expression of how edges can become mediating spaces, in this case the mediation between cultivatable space and uncultivable space. By extension, Inka *qullqas* or storehouses have been visualized as grids or checkerboards likely because they were often seen nested into the hillside terraces. *Qullqas* visualized in the form of a grid pattern or checkerboard appear in the early colonial

Indigenous author Juan de Santa Cruz Pachakuti Salcamaygua's drawing that outlines an Andean cosmological order (referenced in chapter 3, Fig. 27). In this photograph of the site of Ollantaytambo in the Sacred Valley north of the Inka capital, Cusco, we can see the remnants of *qullqa* structures nested into the terracing or "*patas*" on the mountainside (Fig. 16).

Fig. 16. Inka *qullqa*/storehouse at Ollantaytambo in the Sacred Valley, central Peru. (photograph by the author)

All these four *unku*/tunic types—very high status, state-associated garments—include examples that display added embroidery details. In the image examples of garments referenced above we can discern the insertion of zigzag embroidery at the bottom hem of the *unku*s.[158] In an example of an Inka *unku* I viewed at the Museum of Fine

[158] Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," 246-250.

Arts, Boston, the zigzag embroidery appears in slightly different application, now on the sides of the garment and in single color (red) (Fig. 17). The textile is fairly deteriorated at the bottom and on one of the sides but the zigzag is a significant element regardless.

Fig. 17. Inka *unku*/tunic with stepped neckline. Tapestry weave with embroidered detailing. Camelid fibers, 30 x 24 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1977.131 (photograph by the author)

Although this *unku* was not as meticulously worked with the esoteric motifs seen in the most elite types that Rowe classifies as "standardized," in this case, too, the embroidered zigzag is an embellishment that is not structurally necessary but rather communicates something other than just "completion" or "closure" at the borders. Unlike in the earlier examples of the standardized tunics— where the zigzag embroidery is seen mostly at the lower edge of the garment and *nearing* the bottom hem but not covering it—in this example the zigzag is layered over the side edge but in such a way as to still expose the seam, or area where the two fabric edges meet.

Again, the embroidery is not serving a structural purpose of "sealing" the edge and instead seems to accentuate a distinction here between the textile faces even while there is convergence.

It is this curious ambivalence at the edges of Inka garments, expressed through the zigzag form, that drives this chapter's inquiry. I ask how zigzag motifs come to materialize and accentuate the Inka state's conceptualization of space or territory and its corresponding understanding of borders as something always in flux, characterized by engagement and convergence, and where the notion of the "closed" boundary is challenged.

Outlining the Inka State

It is relevant at this point to elaborate on Inka culture and the rise of the Inka state and to get a sense of how, in their expansion, they viewed territory and space within the constructs of its empire. The Andes region was largely under the dominion of the Inka ethnic group in the immediate pre-contact period (before the year 1532, when the Spanish began the overthrow of the Inkas). To think about the Inka state and the material/visual culture (such as textiles) that reinforced an Inka ideology of power and empire is to take into account how intricately they linked themselves to the landscape. The Inkas narrativized, visualized, and materialized themselves within the landscape in various ways (and, likewise, onto visual culture forms, including textiles). The center of the Inka universe was its highland capital at

Cusco, to which their forebears had arrived after undertaking a temporal and spatial journey that originated south of that site in a place called Pacariqtambo (in one version of Inka origins).[159] The movement of the Inka ancestors across rugged terrain—inching slowly towards Cusco and its fertile valleys, where they would create their cultural and political center—seems to dwell on the value of place, exhibited in the idea that the origins of their power lay elsewhere but that the *realization* of this power was at Cusco.[160] The Pacariqtambo narrative places great importance on the idea that the Inka ethnic group was essentially borne out of a natural site, a *paqarina or paqarisca*, which in their case was a cave entrance in a hill called *Tambo Toco*/*Tampu T'oqo*. After their emergence, the Inkas traveled away from here towards the fertile valley to found their capital. This first journey is defined by how the Inka ancestors (four sibling pairs) interact with and even at certain critical points become *part* of the peripheral landscape.

Three of the four male siblings become boundary posts of sorts en route to Cusco, where ultimately the fourth brother, Manqo Qhapaq would become the first Sapa Inka, or supreme ruler.[161] As the Inkas got closer and closer to Cusco, their

[159] Although other versions site different places of origin, like Lake Titicaca, further east. In some cases, the lake is acknowledged as being the place where the Sun and Moon and stars were created, so the place of cosmic origins, more specifically.
[160] See for example, Gary Urton, *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).
[161] Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inka Realm*, trans. Harry B. Iceland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 12-14; Ayar Uchu is transformed into the principal *wak'a Wanakaure*/ Huanacauri within view of Cusco; Ayar Awka is made to return to the cave of origin, Paqariqtambo, and becomes sealed within it, and Ayar Kachi is turned to stone at a site presumably already within Cusco's central zone that would become the city's spiritual center (considered to be the site of Qurikancha/Qorikancha/Kuricancha).

investment in agricultural processes can be said to have increased as well. Although these first figures were peripatetic, Maria Rostworowski notes that this narrative emphasizes they were agriculturalists, "since once established in a place they stayed there for years and then, after harvesting their crops, continued on their way." Later in this chapter I will argue, however, that the Inkas also associated themselves with a pastoralist identity that would have served them in how they mediated border spaces or buffer zones within their greater territory.[162] The Inka origin narratives (there are variations) underscore the journey towards their heartland from an outside zone, a movement which "provided a charter for ordering center-periphery relationships in the Inca heartland and thus for civilizing the world."[163] For the purposes of this dissertation an important detail of the narrative which sets out from Pacariqtambo is that the four sibling pairs emerged from the primordial cave fully dressed in Inka attire that will distinguish them from all other ethnic groups. Furthermore, it is said that one of these figures, Mama Ocllo, the wife of the first Inka ruler Manqo Qhapaq, emerged to teach women in the region how to weave. Particular textile garments, and the weaving tradition in itself, in other words, are part of the Inka story that embeds

[162] Gary Urton, "The Herder–Cultivator Relationship as a Paradigm for Archaeological Origins, Linguistic Dispersals, and the Evolution of Record-Keeping in the Andes," *Archaeology and Language in the Andes*, ed. Paul Heggarty and David Beresford-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 327. Urton suggests that the herder/cultivator opposition (that is also complementary) and that appears at least as early as Late Intermediate Period (roughly 1000-1476 CE, the period before Inka emergence), becomes a template for later models of complementarity in the Andes: "...theorizing a pattern of intimate interactions between groups having different economies and cultural profiles, and, in many cases, speaking different languages, that were linked in a complementary manner (probably in terms of economic specialization, as herders/cultivators) and in which one member was considered superior to, or dominant over, the other."

[163] Colin McEwan, "Ordering the Sacred and Recreating Cuzco," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, ed. Tamara L. Bray (University Press of Colorado, 2015), 30.

them in the Andean space while also serving to separate them from other ethnic groups, highlighting them as the presence that would disseminate culture as expressed through weaving.

The Inkas' rise to power occurs after they settle in the mountain valley where they found their capital, Cusco, on swampy land nourished by three main waterways. The rivers *Chunchulmayu*, and the *Saphy* and *Tullumayu* that joined to form the *Huatanay* towards the south end of the city, were the natural forces that would help the Inkas flourish. This merging of two rivers at the city's center is an important detail, as it made visible the critical Andean value of *tinku* (discussed in chapter 1) that has to do with potency at sites of *convergence*.[164] *Tinku* is a concept that in Inka, and broader Andean, cosmology expresses how the merging of two opposing forces produces transformative change. It applies to natural phenomena, often specifically to the joining of rivers ("*tincukmayo*," the joining of two rivers, appears in one of the earliest Quechua dictionaries), but also to other types of encounters, resonating across multiple contexts and through multiple modes of representation and presentation. That the Inka capital was located at a site of natural *tinku,* or potency, such as this further enhanced the Inkas' associations with power in nature and incorporated them within the landscape. Another important detail about the Inkas' settlement in Cusco and the waterways that met here is that the rivers were soon controlled by Inka

[164] Jeanette Sherbondy, "El Agua: Ideologia y Poder de los Incas," in *El Agua: Mitos, Ritos y Realidades, Coloquio Internacional, Granada, 23-26 de noviembre de 1992,* coords. José A. González Alcantud and Antonio Malpica Cuello (Barcelona: Antropos Editorial, 2003), 96.

canalization projects.[165] The canalization, distribution, and control of waterways would be critical to Inka power, allowing for agricultural success and agricultural expansion by facilitating means by which agricultural tribute could be paid to the growing state as it extended its reach and domain over new subjects. Importantly, waterways were also frequent indicators of territorial edges, which brings up some interesting questions about how "fixed" an edge space could be if it was held by a river, which in its movement is always tracing new perimeters and erasing old ones. The properties of moving water more generally—fluidity, flux or volatility, potency—can be reflected on with respect to how the Inkas conceived of territorial borders and how these could or should be marked. I will contend that the Inkas were amenable to the idea that territory could have moveable or volatile boundaries as well. After all, the invisible *ceque* lines (discussed in chapter 1) that were part of territory marking were not "set" as much as adjustable to the topographic variability of the landscape they extended into.

What we know about Inka accession of territory and its demarcation is incomplete but we can review certain aspects of the Inka story to glean how they envisioned the landscape as theirs. Between 1000 and 1400 BCE, the central Andean highlands were populated by numerous regional polities vying for political and military power. The Inkas arose in the midst of these groups and defined themselves through a slow process of complex settlement development that subsequently prepared them to

[165] John Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 34.

spread rapidly beyond the territorial core of Cusco through alliance-building and mitigated military incursion.[166] As the Inkas strengthened their rule at the center, their incursions into territories beyond the Cusco area were inconsistent. Bauer and Covey write about the different factors that contributed to Inka imperial expansion, noting on the one hand that it depended on the consolidation of the Cusco heartland and, on the other, that growth from this core area was characterized by a "patchwork" process of building trade networks and forming alliances according to immediate need and/or convenience.[167] Absorption or conquest of a given area was not a foregone conclusion and what resulted from the uneven "mosaic" expansion were often depopulated buffer zones between them and their main rivals.[168] Bauer and Covey suggest that we should think about Inka state formation as an uneven process that required variable types of engagement with communities near and far over time.

A key ploy the Inkas used to expand into neighboring territories was to offer a given group an "invitation" to be brought into the Inka sphere of influence and protection. The inverse of this, were any group to reject the offer, was an Inka military onslaught that would by force subdue it. Nonetheless, even as the Inka empire expanded to incorporate quite a number of ethnic groups—over eighty or so— into its domain, it is unclear that their mode of conceiving territoriality in the heartland area, or their

[166] Brian S. Bauer and Alan Covey, "Processes of State Formation in the Inka Empire," *American Anthropologist; Oxford*, Vol. 104, Iss.3 (Sep. 2002): 846-48.
[167] Ibid., 847-48. The authors note that heartland consolidation/integration, recognized through evidence of settlement hierarchies and an internally specialized administration, can have 20,000 square kilometers (~12,500 sq. miles) of space.
[168] Ibid., 848.

core stronghold, also applied to how they conceived of it in the peripheral parts of the empire. We do know there were outlying areas that resisted the Inkas' grip and also provinces that remained only partially subdued and which were constantly threatening to rebel, which leads to questions of how the Inkas rationalized inevitable instability into their ideology of power.

Analyzing imagery depicting warfare on ceramic vessels of the Central Andes Mochica culture (c. 100-800 CE), George Lau writes how warfare and allusions or representations of violent engagement are an important category of cultural production in the history of the Central Andean region over thousands of years. Interpersonal violence is visualized in formats such as stone carvings as far back as 1800 BCE, with depictions of disarticulated bodies, corpses, and severed heads forming part of a repertoire of war imagery that continued to develop across different cultures.[169] Lau states that as urban centers in the Central Andes began consolidating during the Early Intermediate Period (c. 1-700 CE), regional distinctions increased and were expressed through religion, economic production, and technology and, furthermore, that there then was an equivalent rise of militaristic polities with "shared preoccupations with celebrating armed conflict."[170] Within this "celebration" of

[169] George Lau, "Object of Contention: An Examination of Recuay-Moche Combat Imagery" *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 14:2, (2004): 164. There exists also a plethora of examples of expressed dominance in representations of conquerors such as decapitator figures, predatory anthropomorphic or composite beings, or priest-like sacrificers.

[170] Ibid., 165. Lau notes, however, that despite the visual record, evidence of military campaigns and large-scale battle is scarce, due to natural processes that make a complete archaeological record impossible.

"entanglements," he notes that in tandem with weaponry and war trophies, clothing was an important component in the visualization of conflict. This makes sense since in the Andes ethnic difference is typically marked through this format.

In consideration of "celebration of armed conflict," with respect to the Inkas of the Late Horizon (c. 1476-1533) there is the interesting constraint that much of their visual production— or would-be formats for expressing such things as conflict—was non-representational, and so imagery that clearly represented battle or engagement was scarce. Yet we know that as an imperial force that was intent on territorial expansion, war was part of Inka culture and would have played a correspondingly important role in their cultural production—but where do we see it?

In contrast to the majority of Andean cultures that preceded them, the Inkas preferred aniconic visual expression and in the majority of examples from Inka visual culture they distance themselves from anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations.[171] Except for small-scale ritual figurines typically made of precious metals or valued spondylus shells, the Inkas rarely created naturalistic forms within their visual culture. It is not entirely clear why this was the tendency even in their visual campaigns to spread an imperial ideology. As Gary Urton notes, however, what the Inkas do share with prior Andean cultures is an Andean predisposition to think in

[171] Terence D'Altroy & Darryl Wilkinson, "The Past as Kin: Materiality and Time in Inka Landscapes," in *Constructions of Time and History in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, eds. Edward Swenson and Andrew P. Roddick (Boulder: University Press, 2018), 108.

terms of invisible lines and conceptual networks where objects and places are understood as nodes within larger frameworks.[172]

Urton proposes that archaeological sites like Chavín de Huantar and the Nazca lines are characterized by "line centers" that serve as mental diagrams. In exemplary works from these traditions we see a logic created by concentrations of lines, critical axes points, and nodes within wider and wider networks that order space alongside a broader Andean cosmology.[173] A 'line-node-network' paradigm would also be understood corporally. For example, the way in which the Nazca lines would have been most intensely experienced perhaps would have been through the body tracing a path over them. This "corporal" knowledge can also be applied to the Inka context. One came to know the extent of the Inka empire by walking its royal roads (the *qhapaq ñan*), for example. Corporally, too, one could appreciate and experience the "bodily praxis" of "wearing the state" by wearing an Inka-designated elite cloth.[174] This helps us again consider what an Inka "aesthetic" would be in correspondence with the form or motif that I will treat with some attention, that of the *q'inqu*/zigzag. Tracing the movement of the zigzag on the textile piece with our eyes we must also wonder how this motif could be traced on the Andean space, and specifically on Inka

[172] Gary Urton, "Aesthetics of a Line Entangled in a Network," in *Visual Culture of the Ancient Americas: Contemporary Perspectives,* eds. Andrew Finegold and Ellen Hoobler (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017) 18.
[173] Ibid., 18-24.
[174] Ibid., "…ceque system or the Capac ñan…represent ways and contexts in which the elements of the line, the node, and the network were actually inscribed as 'structuring structures' of day-to-day practice and bodily movements within Andean spaces."

territory. It is a matter of not only understanding the motif through an optical assessment but through the *senses*, and a more amplified experience of form. The challenge is to see the motif and the textile as an *experience* of space instead of just a representation of it. In the zigzag, can we experience movement in the landscape and think about what this symbolic gesture thus brings forward with regard to the periphery of an inhabited space? An attention to figural motifs or forms among certain earlier highland Andean cultures gives way to, with the Inkas, an attention to form based on lines and interactive networks between these, which seems to reflect back on technique and knowledge embedded in a 'textile logic' that also conveys spatial understanding. By extension this would convey territorial understanding.

Within the Territory of Textiles

"All-Tuqapu Unku"

The question of Inka expressions of territory as seen on textiles has been given particular attention with regard to an elite Inka *unku* known as the "All-*tuqapu* Tunic," or also the "Dumbarton Oaks Tunic" (Fig. 18). The *unku's* surface is covered with the square-shaped *tuqapus* across its form on both sides. The *unku's* assortment of *tuqapus* appear in large quantity and variation, which would have required significant labor, and it is thought to have been a garment suited for the most elite of

the Inka noble class, possibly an outfit that would have been worn by the Sapa Inka, or supreme/ruling Inka, himself.[175]

Fig. 18. Inka *unku*, the "All-*Tuqapu*" tunic, c. 1450-1540 CE. Tapestry weave camelid and cotton fiber, The Dumbarton Oaks Library and Museum, PC.B.518, 35 1/2 x 30 3/8 in. (image in the public domain, through wikicommons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:tupa-inca-tunic.png)

What comes across in the multiplicity of *tuqapu* forms—frets, spirals, stripes/lines, triangles, diamond/rhomboids, squares, and variations of these—is their relational

[175] Its association with Inka rulership stems from the labor intensity behind its fabrication (in the process and in the provision of materials) and also because scholars have noted that in his thorough depiction of Inka customary wardrobe, the Indigenous author and illustrator Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala rendered several of the Inka kings in *unkus*/tunics that displayed *tuqapus* covering the entirety of the cloth. See Femenías, "Structure, Design, and Gender," 345; See also Rebecca Stone, "'And All Theirs Different from His,' the Dumbarton Oaks Inka Royal Tunic in Context," in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power*, ed. Richard Burger, Craig Morris, and Ramiro Matos Mendieta (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 2007): 385-418.

value, or the way that parts are arranged against each other. This is also to say that *tuqapus* are not merely a decorative, aesthetic device or attractive arrangement. The attention to color and spatial relationships in *tuqapus* seems specific enough to merit meaning, likely sympathetic to broader ideas of spatial order in the Andean context. As Alfred Gell argues, "there is nothing empirically to show that the decorated objects with which the world abounds are contemplated except in specific situational contexts in which their aesthetic properties are never the sole focus of interest."[176] Regarding the significance of certain symbols in the Inka iconographic repertoire, Gail Silverman points to *tuqapu* as referents of agricultural technology. For Silverman, the Inkas' *tuqapu* iconography, which she describes as pictographs, resulted from their interest in reducing natural phenomena or features to geometric forms that could be legible.[177] For her, understanding *tuqapu* requires thinking of these forms as part of a grammar structure, pointing to a semiological approach. Lee Anne Wilson has written about how *tuqapu* motifs, as seen in Guaman Poma's illustrations, relay ideas of order with respect to an Inka campaign of "civilizing" the highland areas it sought to absorb within its territory.[178] My interest in *tuqapu* forms seen across different Inka textile examples is in how they express spatial ideas, such as duality, tripartition, concentricity, etc., (in variations of color and rotation or arrangement) that carry meaning into the lived space, i.e., expanding on how *tuqapu*

[176] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 81.
[177] Silverman, "La Escritura Inca," 38.
[178] Lee Anne Wilson, "Survival, Resistance, and Acculturation: Guaman Poma's Use of Costume and Textile Imagery," *Studies in Iconography*, Vol. 19 (1998): 177-210.

geometry may have been used to relay an ideology of order applied to landscape. The relational expression concentrated in *tuqapus* relays something about space that can apply not only to the textile but to the greater Andean space. For example, we can look to Rebecca Stone's assessment that the "All-*tuqapu*" *unku's* excessive display of *tuqapus* served as propaganda for an Inka ruler, fitting within a visual rhetoric of territorial expansion.[179] In this view, the *tuqapu*s represented territories that the state had in its sights. In covering the ruler in *tuqapus*, the *unku* made the ruler the "holder" of all these smaller "spaces." That is, with this attire the Sapa Inka was visually proclaiming the Inka state's presence, militarily or other through some other jurisdiction, over others. Here we might also keep in mind that it was through their continual growth and access to new land and labor resources that the Inkas were able to sustain the idea that theirs was a state that could ensure food security as well as physical security from less stable factions in the region.[180]

In a study that can further inform our understanding of textiles in relation to spatial order, Denise Y. Arnold writes about present-day textile communities in the South Andes whose geometric and abstracted textile motifs tend to describe productive spaces, while more figurative designs refer to products/goods that derive from those

[179] Stone, "And All Theirs Different from His," 385-418.
[180] The model of expansion, however, could only be taken so far and ultimately the breadth of their growth and internal strife among the royal houses (*panaqas*) began to undermine the ability to control all areas equally while other historical factors, namely the foreign Spanish invasion, coincided to overturn Inka hegemony.

spaces.[181] She also indicates that the organization of space we see in textiles is seen in other aspects of Andean life, as if the textile were a primordial referent: for example, at market or exchange sites there is a common and deliberate way of arranging agricultural products that seems to correlate to the weaving process of ordering the warps on a loom.[182] But she further highlights that these ordering processes—confluent with textile processes—function in relation to generative activities and production, within a dynamic of 'generative tension' such as the marketplace setting, which is recognized as a space where things flow and find new networks to extend from.[183]

This reading of how ideas of exchange and flow and productivity reside in the Andean textile comes up in Stone's aforementioned scholarship as well. Stone writes about stylized movement within Inka design and construction and how they used these elements to spread their ideas of interdependence and reciprocity. In their non-representational aesthetic the Inkas seemed interested in marking space as flexible, engaging a cosmovision of inclusivity and relationality (alongside hierarchy).[184] This is made explicit, according to the author, in the "All-*tuqapu*" tunic.

---

[181] Denise Y. Arnold, *El Textil y la Documentación del Tributo en los Andes: Los Significados del Tejido en Contextos Tributarios* (La Paz: Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara/ILCA, 2016), 134.
[182] Ibid., 131.
[183] Ibid., 134.
[184] Stone, "And All Theirs Different from His," 389-90. She discusses the Dumbarton Oaks's all-*tuqapu* royal Inka tunic as showing "enframed flexibility." It is worth bringing up discussion here about the difficulty that comes with applying the word 'aesthetic' to pre-Hispanic Andean visual culture. In a context quite different from the European one that generated a philosophy of 'fine art' according to very western criteria, 'aesthetic' is not an effective word to apply to the Inkas. See Carolyn Dean's essay, "The Trouble with (the Term) Art."

Elite *unkus* in general, and this one in particular, would have transmitted what Stone calls an "enframed flexibility" that reflected how the Inka ruler sought to incorporate distant non-Inka groups and territories in an effort to control what would potentially cause disorder or chaos within the state.[185] Through the *tuqapu* forms the royal figure (Sapa Inka) would symbolically carry the chaos of the multiple outlying territories on his body.[186] My suggestion is that this could also be stated in terms such as volatility and *tinku*, as well—the Inka ruler absorbs volatility or *becomes* the border space or embodies a border discourse where culture and chaos meet in a constant dynamic exchange. The meeting of zones or different spaces as both "centering" or concentrating disparate areas, collecting resources or energies from more than one side, but also the meeting of spaces as "frontier" areas where fluidity and potential volatility exist comes forward in the word *chawpi*, which in the Andes is used both in relation to landscape and as part of a textile vocabulary. Tristan Platt describes the *chawpirana* zones within the Andean vertical archipelago as transitional, middle zones through which "settlers from the highland 'continent' must traverse to reach their valley lands."[187] Discussing the advantages of the "*chawpi*" or middle zone as a nexus zone with equal access to highland and lowland spaces and as a site where resources may converge, Platt references Olivia Harris's description of spatial

[185] Stone, "And All Theirs Different from His," 390-91.
[186] Ibid., 391.
[187] Tristan Platt, "From the Island's Point of View. Warfare and Transformation in an Andean Vertical Archipelago," *Journal de la Société des américanistes*, Vol. 95, No. 2 (2009) 37.

distribution among contemporary North Potosí farmers and how those living in the *chawpirana*/middle regions between puna and valley have greater flexibility in accessing the resources of either extreme, and therefore demonstrate greater self-sufficiency. In other words, sites of meeting or mediation (in these references where center meets periphery, but also we can say the edge spaces where interior meets exterior) are fecund, and harness productivity by inviting oppositions to converge. Furthermore, it is worth noting that in her analysis of spatial organization in relation to farmers and the landscape, Harris refers to Verónica Cereceda's earlier analysis of the "spatial grammar of geometric textile designs" and the way "centering" or *chawpi* in textile bags also alludes to transitions from high to low spaces that translate to spatial and climatic aspects.[188] (In chapter 1, I refer to Cereceda's discussion of the outer edges of the *talega* woven bags rather than her attention to mediating spaces at the center of the bags; the multiple ways of reading mediation in the textile form and its design and structural aspects furthers the argument that notions of transition, movement, exchange, and even volatility hold significant value.) As a site of mediation and that gathers different points of reference, the all-*tuqapu* Inka *unku*, therefore, would have been a testament to the power of the *Sapa* Inka as an embodiment of "*chawpi.*" This would be evident in other material ways as well, as Stone notes, for example in the access he had to the resources needed to produce the multiplicity of colored threads and designs. His garment also indicated a flexibility solely at the disposal of the ruler. The ability to wear other ethnicities' colors and

[188] Ibid.

designs, was a flexibility uniquely equated with his sovereignty since sumptuary laws restricted what people could wear.

The Checkerboard or "Qullqapata" Unku

The Inka *unku* type which scholars often correlate with ideas of territorial claim is the one with checkerboard patterning, called the *Qullqapata* type, noted earlier in this chapter and seen in its entirety different iteration here (Fig. 19).

Fig. 19. Inka checkerboard *unku*/tunic, 16th century. Camelid fiber; H. 34 1/4 x W. 30 1/8 in. (87 x 76.5 cm) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2017.674 (image in the public domain)

.

It is also the elite Inka garment type most frequently found in the archaeological record.[189] Looking at the contrasting squares, paired evenly but alternatingly throughout the *unku'*s face and back, the idea of dualism comes forward without nuance. Dark and light create a visual push and pull and express balance based on tension; we see the dark and the light play against one another repeatedly, the whole field of the textile percolating with this tension. The patterning emits that activity, rooted in competing elements, is being celebrated here. Perhaps it is worth noting that the word *tinku*, which we have referenced in terms of converging oppositional forces (such as two rivers joining), is also part of another word documented in González Holguín's early colonial Quechua dictionary, "*tincunacuni*," which means "to be opposite/contrary, or to compete."[190] The *unku* here thus also elicits the notion of relational but possibly volatile, unwieldy encounters (*tinku*). The textile's woven checkered pattern is thought to have been associated with Inka military and administrative office; John Rowe noted that it is always found on garments linked to Inka institutional power.

"*Qullqa*," that forms the root of the word *qullqapata* and which refer to Inka storage units are strongly tied to Inka military use since this arm of empire relied on stored foods, clothing, etc. during warring campaigns. We may also correlate *qullqas* with

[189] For documentation of 9 checkerboard patterned tunics in the archaeological record, refer to John Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," 239-260, and Ann Pollard Rowe, "Technical Features of Inca Tapestry Tunics," 5-28.
[190] Holguín, 224: "*tincunacun*i: ser contrarios, o conpetir."

the idea of the "edge"—as in, the volatile edge— of a given space as well, as these structures were located along with the fortifications found in greater number towards the extremities of the Inka empire, at its northern and southeastern frontiers.[191] In her review of a text on Inka storage systems, Catherine Julien states that the Inkas had a "buildup of storage centers on the northern Highland road (and [a] relative absence of large storage complexes in other parts of the empire)," equating storage with military needs in the areas (the north) where they were most active toward the latter part of the empire's expansion.[192]

Interestingly, the checkerboard/ *qullqapata unku* type appears miniaturized as a *tuqapu* in the "All-*tuqapu*" *unku*. That is, it occupies a single *tuqapu* square, though it is seen repeated some 33 times (more than any of the other *tuqapu* motifs) throughout the garment.[193] For some reason the "All-tuqapu" *unku* has multiples of what is thought to be an emblem of military power across its form, which contributes to Stone's reading of the "All-*tuqapu*" type to be an expression of state territorial ambition, reinforced here with at least the symbolic threat of militaristic action.

This closeup image of an "All-*tuqapu*" *unku* shows how the black and white checkered, *qullqapata unku* type is rendered in miniature (Fig. 20). (Another of the

[191] Catherine Julien, review of *Inka Storage Systems*, by Terry Y. Levine, *Latin American Antiquity*, Vol. 6, No.4 (Dec. 1995) 370-71.
[192] Ibid., and Catherine Julien "Review of *Inka Storage Systems*, edited by Terry LeVine," *Latin American Antiquity* 6: (1995): 370-371.
[193] Stone, "And All Theirs Different from His," 400.

standardized designs determined by Rowe, the Inka key motif, is seen twice in this same cropped image: a diagonal bar of red outline in tension with two red dots on either side of it.)

Fig. 20. Section of the "All-*Tuqapu*" Inka *unku* showing variety of motifs within each square, or *tuqapu* (photograph by the author, taken at the Getty Exhibit, *Golden Kingdoms: Luxury Arts in the Ancient Americas*, 2017)

In the miniature representation of the *qullqapata unku* with its military associations, we can return to discussion of the pattern discussed earlier in this chapter: the *q'inqu* or zigzag. The miniature *unku*-turned-*tuqapu* (i.e. turned into a motif itself) has a zigzag pattern that is visible towards its bottom edge. The zigzag consistently appears as a detail in the checkerboard military *unku* type—apparent in all the examples of the type found in the archaeological record, and seen also in Guaman Poma's illustrated renderings of it. While in the miniature version the zigzag is part of the weaving structure, in its regular *unku* scale, the same zigzag line is applied as an embroidered embellishment across the expanse of the bottom edge. That the zigzag pattern is recognized as a necessary detail even in the miniature form, however, suggests it is a

critical feature. Other miniaturized textile versions of the *qullqapata unku* type have been found dressing miniature male figurines found at Inka ritual burial sites. With its up and down gesture, this small zigzag nonetheless creates tension and contrast at the bottom edge of the textile garment, which is finished with a continuous band of tight figure-eight stitching.[194] Both the zigzag detail and the figure-eight stitching along the edges are inserted into the small versions with as much attention as the other elements of the garment type, if not more so, since they are clearly applied in such a way as to be legible rather than conforming to how they would be seen proportionally in relation to the other motif/design aspects (Fig. 21).

Fig. 21. Miniature Inka *unku*/tunic of *qullqapata*/checkerboard type with zigzag detail at bottom edge in embroidery (photograph by the author, taken at the Getty Exhibit, *Golden Kingdoms: Luxury Arts in the Ancient Americas* 2017)

[194] Pillsbury, 74-75.

Mary Frame discusses zigzags within an Inka imperial rhetoric of *tuqapu* designs more broadly. In an essay where she describes the Inkas' *tuqapus* as a "graphic code" that has its own "graphic logic," she categorizes distinct geometric forms or "elements" seen in *tuqapu* motifs as being part of *tuqapu "*families," with variations such as how elements are arranged spatially, their symmetrical properties, their number, their color distribution, etc.[195] She notes that zigzags are among the most common *tuqapu* elements or forms.[196] We see the zigzag sometimes as a result of other forms, like triangles united in a continuous band arranged vertically, or in columns, sometimes with combinations of colors in the same column and then with triangles of contrasting colors in adjacent columns.[197] There are also variations on this type, seen in *tuqapus* with horizontal sequences of triangles that form a zigzag *row*. As a contour of triangular forms, the zigzag is a pathway that demarcates positive and negative spaces and so articulates relationships or gestures in space such as opposition, tension, trajectory, pathway.[198]

The Quechua word *q'inqu/ k'enko* is commonly translated as zigzag or crooked form.[199] As extension of the idea that the zigzag can fit into a discourse of larger

[195] Frame, "Tukapu, Un Código Gráfico de los Inkas." 249-251.
[196] Ibid., 250. The other common *tuqapu* forms are squares, triangles, rhomboids, meanders or frets, and crosses that appear in different configurations.
[197] Ibid., 252.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Gordon McEwan, *The Incas: New Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford: ABC Clio, 2006), 215; Mannheim and Salas Carreño define *q'inqu/q'enqo/k'enko* as something a little more chaotic/or beyond that, where "'*q'iwi-q'iwi*" means "zigzag," while if something is further entangled or interleaved it is "*q'enqo*." See Bruce Mannheim and Gullermo Salas Carreño, "Wak'as: Entifications of the Andean Sacred," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, ed. Tamara L. Bray (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2015), 53.

space(s), Frame notes offhand a correspondence between the zigzag as motif and the stone walls of the Inka site, Sacsaywaman. At one end of this supposed fortress site above the Inka capital, Cusco, there is a dramatic perimeter of colossal stones arranged together in a monumental zigzag pattern. The correspondence of zigzag forms seen in fabric and the same form seen in architecture is something to consider further, taking into account how I suggest the zigzag we see in the textile form expresses ideas of volatility and productive tension and that it is a form reiterated at the fortress site of Sacsaywaman: the two may be in symbolic accord, visualizing or reifying the notion of confrontation or volatile engagement with the "other." Zigzag patterns are still today part of a weaving visual language in communities near the former Inka capital at Cusco; the form locally is variously recognized or referenced as teeth, mountain peaks, or rivers.[200] The evocation of teeth and mountain peaks have symbolic resonance with notions of borders in that they are forms that separate space, serving as the points where interior and exterior meet.

As an added-on or structurally superfluous element on both miniature and standard-sized Inka *unkus,* the zigzag embroidery is highlighting something. This is apparent, too, when we see it as a noteworthy detail in colonial imagery that represents textiles. In an image of a "governor of the bridges of this kingdom," the Indigenous author and

[200] The terms in Quechua: *K'irakey puntas* = teeth; also Sp. *puntas* = peaks (mountain); *q'inqu/k'enko* or *q'inqu mayu* (river zigzag). See Mary Frame, "Tukapu, Un Código Gráfico de los Inkas," 255. I also found reference to these terms in the communities of Mullaka-Misminay and Kacllaraccay near Moray during a research trip in Peru, 2019.

illustrator Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala depicts an Inka administrator wearing an *unku* with *tuqapus* at the waistband and that has the added detail of the zigzag embroidery towards the bottom hem (Fig. 22). The zigzag echoes that which is seen on the Inka *qullqapata* military *unkus* found in the archaeological record. The drawing clearly emphasizes this seemingly minor embroidery detail.

Fig. 22. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. GOVERNADOR DE LOS PVENTES DESTE R[EI]NO *CHACA SVIOIOC* [responsable de puentes], *ACOS INGA*, GVAMBO *CHACA folio 356 [358]*
Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/358/en/text/?open=idm46287306165344

.

Paired with the figure's status as a government representative who oversees infrastructure, i.e. the bridges that help connect the empire, we again are brought to the consideration of zigzags in relation to territorial concerns. In his seminal essay on Inka tapestry *unkus* and referencing how Guaman Poma represents them in his text (*El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno)*, John Rowe notes that zigzag bands

ornamenting the outer edges of depicted men's *unkus* are solely seen in representations of figures deemed "elite," in other words, rulers, war captains, high-ranking administrators, governors, and others of elevated rank: "[The zigzag] is not shown on tunics of provincial Inca nobles or commoners of pre-conquest times or of the time of the conquest."[201] Further noteworthy with regard to this image and the figure depicted, we can refer to Tom Zuidema who asserts that the Anta and Acos ethnic groups (who were Inkas-by-privilege rather than of the Inka bloodlines directly) were designated administrators of the empire's roads and bridges. According to him (and based on his study of Guaman Poma's outlines of Inka governance), the Anta and Acos (from the sector of *Chinchaysuyu* to the north and the sector of *Collasuyu* to the south of Cusco, respectively) were brought into the valley of Ayacucho as settler, or *mitimae (mitmaqkuna),* groups to oversee strategic positions.[202] This fact—that the Inkas used Inkas-by-privilege to carry out government functions—brings forward how the Inkas practiced a relationality even in their immediate politics and in actual strategy of governance. (Zuidema asserts that none of the Inka administrative functions were held by men of the Inka high nobility.)[203] The Inka-by-privilege denomination or category was one that mediated difference or opposition between the "Inka" and "non-Inka" groups at either extreme of a body politic and within the greater scheme of an Andean order when Cusco was

[201] Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," 242.
[202] R.Tom Zuidema, "Hierarchy and Space in Incaic Social Organization," *Ethnohistory,* Vol. 30, No. 2 (Spring, 1983), 69.
[203] Ibid., 68.

at the height of empire. Zuidema talks about this in terms of the Inkas having "a strong interest in global oppositions, like those of conquerors to conquered, of governing class to peasant class, of Incas to non-Incas; with classes like that of the Incas-by-privilege in an intermediate position."[204] As a figurative bridge between that basic opposition of "Inka" and "Non-," the Inkas-by-privilege embodied an Inka ideology that allowed for the intermediate space, the relational space of conjoining, to have its position too.

I argue that the *q'inqu*/zigzag patterning we see in Inka garments makes sense as similar embodiments or manifestations of relational practices that engaged the "in-between" or the "intermediate" despite, or perhaps in exaltation of, the existence of tensions at either end. The zigzag thus very much signaled an approach to territoriality and had significance within the purview of the Inka state's "aesthetic of borders." As a design that transmits an idea of movement or activity between spaces, this embroidery at the edge of the elite (read state-sponsored) male *unkus* is saying something about the Inka state's approach to middle spaces, the in-between, borders, etc. And while the same elite textiles had carefully "sealed" boundary edges, by way of the figure-eight embroidery stitch also mentioned above, the *q'inqu/*zigzags adamantly contested the finite nature of the figure-eight bindings. What the zigzags do is highlight volatility as a virtue: in other words, volatility at the border is something the Inkas celebrate. As metonym of the Andean space and Inka territory,

[204] Ibid., 69.

the textile's zigzag pattern marks volatility at the edge of *that* space too. The zigzag pattern suggests a modeling of relationality and constant negotiation of the edge, a materialization of an Inka territoriality as expressed at its periphery. The application of the zigzag vibrating at the edge space of the *qullqapata unku*— as a military textile—resonates with the Inkas particular brand of expansion: the borderland areas are dynamic spaces, volatility is potent, and exchange or convergence (or *tinku*) was part of a relational understanding of the world and how its systems were ordered.

The "textile logic," thus, is a reflection of the "territorial logic": border is process, is productivity, is interaction, is volatile. The margins of the textile space as well as of the inhabited space were moveable or mobile and within these fluid zones encounter was inevitable. Another way to think of it is that volatility in the borderlands is perhaps what energizes the empire. (A more pragmatic, realpolitik way to think of an Inka embrace of volatility would be that in confronting the reality that some of their neighbors could not be easily conquered or integrated into the empire they dressed this within a rhetoric that the Inka territory was powerful because it embraced tension.)

This discussion of volatility at territorial borders can be brought back to bear on the Andean expression of *tinku* and the conjoining of oppositional forces that produces generative and productive results. Tristan Platt discusses *tinku* in its expression as ritual battle in a contemporary ethnographic context in the Andes, which can also be

interpreted as a visualization of productive volatility. The ritual battles termed "*tinku*" have a long history in traditional Andean society and provide another example of how degrees of opposition are seen in a productive light, even as the rituals go beyond mere opposition and encroach an "ethos of regional warfare" or a "warrior ethic." Platt discusses the "warring" facet of *tinku* as "balanced competition" that ultimately harnesses tension and violence, pointing to its transformative value equated with fertility or productivity.[205] In *tinku* ritual battles, opposing parties face off against one another until order in the community is established, all the while unleashing a generative power. Tension or encounter, or rivalry "'function to 'dynamite all types of communal labor and collective projects, accelerating action and obtaining positive results that benefit everyone equally."[206] In another essay, Paul H. Gelles references Hopkins, who describes *tinku* as dueling between moieties "in which sexual play and human fertility is conceptually linked to that of the land and livestock.[207]" When ritual battles occur beyond the moiety structure, furthermore, there is heightened possibility that ritual violence will result in death, which would be interpreted as sacrificial offering to "nature spirits" that reciprocate by providing resources to the community.[208]

[205] Platt, "From the Island's Point of View: Warfare and Transformation in the Vertical Archipelago," 35-36.
[206] Gelles, 715.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid.

With the Inkas, volatility at the borders, for example, may have been a measure of how the state or the political center at Cusco related to the potentially rebellious or newly absorbed provincial sites that extended at some distance from it. At first glance, volatility at the edges of territory would seem problematic to ideas of the state. Can a state define itself if it does not have fixed borders? Can it maintain its integrity without these? What would it mean to have a state that was not entirely seen as "contained" but rather consisted of a space that was visualized with porous outlines? In the modern context, one of the fundamental aspects of the nation-state is territorial integrity, or the conception that territory functions in relation to the capacity the sovereign state has in maintaining an inviolable space with respected borders that separate "outside" from "inside.[209]" However, this nation-state model that is frequently applied to ancient cultures is a construct emerging from a European reality of the seventeenth century and instead of illuminating may obstruct a more careful understanding of the Inka inhabited space.[210] Similarly, the idea of property in western constructs entails the power of exclusion and the right to claim control or use of a resource as well as to transfer it.[211]

[209] David Delaney, *Territory: A Short Introduction* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 1-3.
[210] Monica L. Smith, "Networks, Territories and the Cartography of Ancient States," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 95, no. 4 (Dec. 2005): 834. The author notes how the development of the nation-state political model wherein the integrity of territoriality was closely bound to the idea of effective government coincided with the emergence of common property laws in Europe and division of landscape that necessitated a new ordering system located in boundaries and legal restrictions against trespass.
[211] Nicholas Bromley, "Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence: The Frontier, the Survey, and the Grid," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93:1 (2003): 121.

When we look at the Inka case, we see a different model of territoriality shaped by the geographic realities of the Andes. The empire expanded rapidly across regions of significant ecological and geographic variation. Before Inka expansion, between roughly the late thirteenth century and through the beginning of the fifteenth century, the southern Andes lived a period of instability marked by armed conflict and a landscape dotted with fortresses and settlements organized according to defensive models.[212] These defensive communities were probably formed by corporate, hierarchy-based groups (later called *ayllus*) that recognized a common ancestor and were concentrated in nuclei of agricultural production and surrounded by buffer zones that were used intermittently for pasturing and hunting.[213] Having these pastoral buffer zones, the defensive settlements maintained relative autonomy from one another but slowly became more integrationist. Little by little the inhabitants of these settlements also began inserting themselves into pastoral activities that previously were carried out by more isolated "specialized pastoralists."[214]

Several scholars have written about pastoralism in the Andes, fundamental as it has been to social processes as well as to engagement with the land over thousands of years.[215] Pastoralism can be intricately tied to social relationships and social

[212] Axel E. Nielsen, "Pastoralism and the Non-pastoral World in the Late Pre-Columbian History of the Southern Andes," *Nomadic Peoples*, Vol.13, *Special Issue: Mountain Pastoralism and Modernity Historical Approaches* (2009): 24.
[213] Ibid., 25. Typically these corporate groups were located at the mid-level altiplano where land was fertile and water was accessible (not the high altiplano inhabited by more isolated pastoral inhabitants)
[214] Ibid., 27.
[215] See Penelope Dransart, *Elemental Meanings: Symbolic Expression in Inka Miniature Figurines* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1995); Jorge A. Flores-Ochoa, *Pastoralists of the Andes:*

organization and is marked by the deep bonds Andeans have formed with the domesticated camelids, the llama and alpaca. Andeans' relationships to their herd animals have guided their treatment of the landscape; the field of zooarchaeology helps illuminate how Andeans in early pre-contact phases used animals such as camelids not only for their meat and fiber but also in diverse ways to distinguish power and social hierarchies or articulate various social relationship depending on who had access to and could accumulate animals as resources.[216] The association of pastoralist practices with the neutral or in-between buffer zones between more isolationist zones resonated with the later Inkas as they situated themselves in the larger social fabric of the Andean space.

By the period of Inka expansion, there was still regional unrest but corporate groups/settlements began to control areas beyond their nuclear centers, occupying and taking advantage of multiple ecological zones.[217] Groups would also rely on exchange

---

the Alpaca Herders of Paratía, translated by Ralph Bolton (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1979); Urton "The Herder-Cultivator Relationship," 321-344, Nielson "Pastoralism," 17-35; Raquel Gil Montero, "Mountain Pastoralism in the Andes during Colonial Times," *Nomadic Peoples*, Vol. 13, Iss. 2 (2009) 36-50.

[216] See, for example, Susan D. de France, "Zooarchaeology in Complex Societies: Political Economy, Status, and Ideology," *Journal of Archaeological Research*, Vol.17, No. 2 (June 2009): 105-168. Or her writing on the Wari and how Wari elites used camelids to differentiate social classes: Susan D. de France, "The Luxury of Variety: Animals and Social Distinction at the Wari site of Cerro Baul, Southern Peru," in *Animals and Inequality in the Ancient World*, eds. Benjamin S. Arbuckl, Sue Ann McCarty (University Press of Colorado, 2014): 63-84.

[217] Nielson, 27. This occupation of or access to multiple ecological zones, providing a nucleus with control over micro-climates across a vertical ecological zone was/is a widespread highland Andean practice. See John Murra's "An Aymara Kingdom in 1567," *Ethnohistory* 15 (2) (1968): 121, where he notes, "Where the individual village or small ethnic enclave in the Andes thought of the micro-climates as arranged vertically in a quite literal sense, large scale political units could expand this notion of "verticality" to include desirable areas as far away from Lake Titicaca as the Pacific Ocean or the hot Bolivian valleys in Larecaja and below Cochabamba."

across ecozones instead of necessarily dispersing their own members across these spaces; whether groups began spreading their own inhabitants through the various eco-geographic ranges or establishing exchanges with other groups, it is apparent that meeting or exchange points were established at various regional sites, where products and people would converge on special occasions.[218] That growing networks, reaching beyond more carefully defined settlements, intersected with neutral zones suggests that the varied Andean space began to be constructed as open, and more and more about interactive relational practices and movement through zones rather than as a space composed of self-isolating smaller spaces. Furthermore, scholars suggest that interactions at these meeting sites may have been marked by the performance of those ritual battles mentioned above, *tinkus*: "The sites for such encounters...found in the spaces between the herder and cultivator settlements, may represent settings for the integration of these groups into larger (internally differentiated) unities."[219]

The Inkas entered this scenario and took advantage of the existent exchange circuits and buffer areas or neutral zones of encounter. That ritual battles, or enactments and celebrations of tension and volatility, seem to have marked these "in-between" spaces corresponds to how I am interpreting Inka treated border spaces as "volatile" too. The Inkas likely took advantage of the existent exchange circuits and buffer areas or neutral zones of encounter, simply modifying the relational networks and exchange

[218] Urton, "The Herder–Cultivator Relationship," 327.
[219] Ibid., 327.

patterns they found. As they spread their rule, I suggest they incorporated the idea that buffer zones would be characterized by volatility and confrontation, and developed their imperial tribute system without seeking to create strictly delimited frontiers.

Adding to the discussion above regarding pastoralism and its association with "in-between" zones, it is noteworthy that the Inkas cultivated narratives that contextualized themselves in relation to the Andean pastoralist tradition. One of the Inka origin narratives recounts that their forefathers and mothers (four sibling sets) first came into being at Lake Titicaca between Peru and Bolivia in what is called the *altiplano*, or high tundra plain, an ecological zone that corresponds to camelid herding/pastoralism.[220] Pastoralists would have been the category of specialists most capable of navigating the variety of geopolitical spaces and would have essentially been recognized as "neutral" entities within wider socio-political tensions simply because they circulated with frequency across zones.[221] The origin story that identifies Inka ancestry as coming from a pastoralist area suggests that in their expansionist strategy the Inkas critically perceived the advantages of being (supposedly) neutral actors moving and exchanging in a superficially "acephalous" way across ecological and cultural zones.[222] Because of the challenges of a difficult

[220] Ibid., 331-32.
[221] Nielsen, 28.
[222] Ibid., 30. "During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when segmentary polities formed in lower regions in a climate of increasing hostilities, many herders were absorbed into corporate and hierarchically organized agro-pastoral economies based on reciprocity and redistribution, but high-

terrain, or because of the complexity of social interactions this encompassed, it makes a certain sense that the Inkas determined a concept of territory and an ideology of borders committed to a fluidity of interactions and negotiations across social, religious, cultural, and environmental planes. Their inborn pastoralist traits—if we align them to the Lake Titicaca origin story— characterized them as necessarily, and advantageously, mobile throughout the landscape and amenable (at least on the surface) to exchange across borders.

The Pulse of an Empire

In one of his images, Guaman Poma portrays two Inka officials constructing *saywas,* which are territorial markers or landmarks (Fig. 23). Although these would have "marked" territory, they nonetheless can fit within an idea of volatile borders or the border area as a threshold space rather than a confinement. On the one hand, early chroniclers note that the Inkas had an interest in boundary stones being placed to separate the lands they distributed among their subject, but on the other hand it may have been that the interest in creating divisions happened or was paramount at the local level and less so at the perimeters of empire, where fluidity may have been more realistic and/or desirable.

altiplano pastoralists kept a relative autonomy and continued their specialized and relatively acephalous way of life in the interstices of this conflict-ridden geopolitical mosaic."

Fig. 23. Felipe *Guaman Poma de Ayala. Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno,* 1615. AMOJONADORES DESTE REINO, VNA CAVCHO INGA, CONA RAQVI INGA, folio 352 [354] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/354/en/text/ (Aspects of the textiles worn by the Inka officials may be seen to corroborate their roles here as surveyors and markers of territory.)

According to Sabine MacCormack there was a more complex territoriality at play during Inka imperial expansion that might elucidate why the Inkas would have been less interested in determining imperial edge boundaries conclusively and instead articulated a degree of volatility at the border. MacCormack sourced colonial era legal documents that suggest the Inkas emphasized control and territoriality through expressions that were more performative and ritualized and that linked their authority over the landscape to religious practice and tribute due to the Solar deity in conflation with the semi-divinity of the Inka ruler. The Inkas were perhaps more keen on visualizing claim to territory in terms of how ritualized acts were carried out on the landscape rather than necessarily asserting claim through boundary markers, which

would inevitably come up against local communities' prior articulations of territory and thus would involve more conflict than perhaps they wanted to indulge. MacCormack found legal disputes between two colonial-era communities in the Chillón Valley, north of Lima, that were trying to assert territory claims in the early colonial period by invoking how land claim had been asserted under Inka rule. One community had established itself as Inka-sponsored settlers and they asserted their claim to land through ritual acts, namely the *qapaqhucha,* a ceremonial pilgrimage that traced pathways through the landscape and during which a person from the community was offered in sacrifice to Inka authority; the other community, who were original inhabitants of the area, asserted their claim through landmarks that defined their own (non-Inka) deities' lands.[223] The Inkas' "imperial purpose" (by way of their *mitmaqkuna* settlers, who had been relocated to newly claimed lands to disseminate Inka culture) was to visualize or make visible Inka claims to land through *rituals*; the Inkas saw the land as "theirs" when they could see their subjects "pray for the health, long life, and prosperity of the Inca and his coya."[224] In turn, it was the regional community— the local, colonized subjects— who were the ones keen on claiming land in more defined or "marked" ways. This suggests a strategy on the part of the Inkas to deviate from defining border areas in ways that might concretize division and instead relays they were partial to expressing claim in more diffuse, or alternately visualized, ways. By enacting claim to land through ritual acts that, like the

[223] Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 151-52.
[224] Ibid., 152.

qapaqhucha, involved participants ceremonially tracing pathways between outside communities and the empire's center, the "edge" areas of newly appropriated lands entered a discourse of border as interactive, dynamic, and, I suggest, inherently volatile. In an interesting analysis of (Early Intermediate, c. 200-600 CE) Mochica modes of visualizing power, Swenson discusses how in their built environment, they expressed notions of dynamic exchange between "interior" and "exterior." In the sand structure of the ceremonial site Huaca Colorada, the Mochica created a form that can be conceived of as a "folded space" that, although built on a stationary sand dune, could take structural additions and reductions with ease. This flexibility invested in the structure reflected an attitude towards the "external." The architecture was "remarkably deformable and pliable with the sandy exterior folded in the inside of the building and the monument folded to the outside—just as sacrificial victims and copper were enfolded within the literal pleats of the edifice's monumental 'body'."[225] He argues this expression of ambivalent inside/outside periphery was a kind of "vital materiality" and that we might think of the Mochica architectural form as part of a "nested 'web of relatedness'" that carried symbolic advantage. That is, there was value in visualizing the idea of the external meeting the internal in terms that acknowledged edge spaces as thresholds or spaces of passage.

[225] Edward Swenson, "The Materialities of Place Making in the Ancient Andes: a Critical Appraisal of the Ontological turn in Archaeological Interpretation," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22 (2015): 692-93.

To return to Inka *saywas*, they raise the question of how variability can come through material expression, such that it allows for a vitality or, as I am putting forward, a productive volatility. As rock structures/constructions *saywas* punctuated the Inka landscape with presence. Rather than materialize strict containment, they seem to have been expressions of enlivened activity or, in some cases, enlivened history. Carolyn Dean notes, "They were petrous embodiments of passage and transition, which is inherent in travel, and they memorialized land rights."[226] In this aspect of memorializing land rights, we might also see volatility at play, in a temporal framework. Within the Andean worldview, the past is also always present, and setting up *saywas* to commemorate previous border engagements could be seen to make those interactions something "always" visible rather than located in the past—in this way, *saywas* retain a threshold aspect.

Saywas can be thought of as embellishments at the edge, as points that punctuated Inka presence rather than espousing a tight seamline around the empire's periphery. To be sure, *saywas* were pregnant with relational meaning. This is because certain rocks within an Inka worldview were understood as *animated* forms. Within an Inka ontology of sacred landscape, rock forms could be seen as alive in a way that essentially made the Inka landscape a pulsing space of supernatural, natural, and

[226] Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 46.

human forms interacting regularly.[227] *Saywa*s would fall under the designation of '*wak'a*' in Andean cosmology, which could be large or small animate objects and/or beings of different material quality (see discussion in chapter 1). *Wak'as* were often associated with the landscape and also with sightlines—that is, with the capacity to survey or have oversight or pay witness to events.[228] *Saywa* as *wak'as* would receive offerings as individuals passed from one territory to the next, each reverential act articulating territory.[229] But it would be the passersby's gestures that are important to note here; rather than the *saywa* itself, what activates their purpose as border markers are the actions of the people highlighted. Interaction makes the space rather than demarcation per se. This is not to say the Inkas did not employ more standard reinforcements of territorial claim and marking, such as garrisons or administrative centers along the stretch of empire—they did—however, in terms of a phenomenological *experience* of borders and how the meeting of exterior and interior was visualized, perhaps the most effective, imposing, and reverberating model was that which comes forward through how *saywas*, these living rocks, were positioned across the terrain to mark interaction and activity.

---

[227] Ibid. In this book's chapters Dean thoroughly addresses the value of rocks within Inka narratives and in their socio-political practice, offering a comprehensive study of how rocks figured into Inka identity and expressions of order and power.
[228] Topic, "Final Reflections: Catequil as One Wak'a among Many," 371. See also Carolyn Dean, "Men Who Would Be Rocks: The Inka Wank'a," in *Archaeology Of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015).
[229] Ibid.

To point to a particularly well-known example of what may be a *saywa* and how we might see it within the experience of landscape and borders, we can reference the carved monolith (2.5 meters high x 3 + meters wide) called the Saywiti Monolith that is located in the border area between Inka lands and that of their preeminent rivals, the Chankas.[230] This rock marker has on its upper part an intricate amassment of carved features while on its lower part the lithic surface remains smooth and plain. The carved area renders aspects of the built landscape—agricultural terraces, irrigation canals, etc.,—as well as imagery of flora and fauna, such as maize plants, pumas, snakes, lizards, etc.[231] In light of these representations, the monolith may have been a reference to the local or known environment, but there are numerous other suggestions for what the elusive form meant for the Inkas, which have ranged from a topographic model, or reduced-scale landscape, to an oracular site, a sacred offering site, a solar observatory.[232] As Dean comments, however, looking for singular meaning in the monolith does not conform to an Inka visual culture that "exploited multivalence."[233] Instead Dean gives attention to the monolith's material presence, pointing to the interaction between the form's hand-crafted, carved upper space and its pure lithic lower space. Dean underscores how this expresses and makes visible the Andean notion of *tinku*, the conjoining of complements seen in how the "plain

[230] See Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 49; also Dean, "A Celebrated Stone: The Inkas Carved Monolith at Saywiti" 307.
[231] Ibid., and see also Gartner's "Mapmaking in the Central Andes," 288.
[232] Dean, "A Celebrated Stone," 315-16. Dean offers a historiography on how the stone has been interpreted over the last century and a half at least.
[233] Ibid.

and the decorated define one another."[234] Furthermore, what seems relevant is how the stone articulates movement, as in the way that water flows across the stone's different surfaces—transitioning from carved to plain areas—to make the monolith expressive of Inka ideas of control and order as well as gendered articulations and notions of interior versus exterior in relation to hydraulic cycles.[235] Dean mentions the idea that there is a "collected vitality" in the seemingly "empty" uncarved, plain areas of the stone. My extension of this idea is that all the things that the monolith is doing and expressing in its entirety, or in its being—with its complementary parts that carry vitality forward—it is also doing in its placement within the landscape, at this threshold space where the Inkas and the Chankas once met. While it may have been located at the border where Chanka land ended and Inka land began, it emphasizes that —like the monolithic form's own make-up of complementary halves—the Inka-Chanka opposition had/has its own vitality that presumably nurtures Inka identity or ideas of balance more broadly.

In their roughly one hundred years of political expansion the Inka empire conquered by military force and reorganized the cultural-political landscape in spatially concrete ways, e.g. moving entire populations from one region to another and establishing administrative sites in key areas for protection of and access to resources, most strongly imposing their own political structures on the highland and central regions

[234] Ibid., 309.
[235] Ibid., 318.

versus the coastal and northern regions.[236] More locally significant to their spatial ordering or re-ordering, and perhaps most insidious, however, was how the Inkas shaped territory based on relational power dynamics already strongly embedded in the Andean psyche. The relational model for enacting the Inkas' bond with the landscape, where, for example, offerings made to *saywa* rocks sealed a socio-sacred bond, ultimately endowed the Inkas with the rights over the land. Relational frameworks also inherently reverberated in how the Inkas associated with other humans living at the edges of their territory. Rather than allege ownership in divisive terms, the Inka posed themselves as against the "other" through relational practices. The Inkas *did* see themselves as the "civilized" and superior entity and positioned themselves as purveyors of culture to the "uncivilized" but they flexed social asymmetry and hierarchy within the broader Andean construct of complementary opposition, which saw this kind of duality as productive. In this sense, I suggest that the peripheries of empire were not perceived to, of necessity, be sites of exclusion but rather sites that reproduced the merit of confluence and conjoining. Perhaps the concept of the entirely "closed" border would not have served the Inkas—rather it was more valuable to convey border as a site of transformative potential. The border was both alive with transformational beings that continually reasserted a socio-sacred

[236] Anne Tiballi, "Weaving the Body Politic: The Integration of Technological Practice and Embodied Social Identity in the Late Prehispanic Andes," in *Textiles, Technical Practice and Power in the Andes,* edited by Denise Y. Arnold and Penelope Dransart (London: Archetype Publications, 2014), 145. See also Steve Kosiba, "Emplacing Value, Cultivating Order: Places of Conversion and Practices of Subordination Throughout Early Inka State Formation (Cuzco, Peru)" in *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World*, eds. John K. Papadopoulos and Gary Urton (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2012), 100-3.

bond between the land and the Inkas and, furthermore, it was alive with transformational encounters between the Inka and the "other" (in the past, the present, and in the future). The embodied presence of stones that animate the landscape and visualize territory in "punctuated" gestures—rather than in flattened, linear demarcations—puts forward a criteria for border that I believe is also made manifest in Inka textiles.

The lack of emphatic borders is not to say, however, that the Inkas were willing to forsake the importance of their capital, Cusco, as the center of the universe. The roads of the *Qhapaq Ñan* although serving as indices of the empire's, or *Tawantinsuyu's*, quadripartition into *Antisuyu*, *Qollasuyu, Kuntisuyu*, and *Chinchasuyu,* all emanated from the center, Cusco.[237] Inka interventions to concentrate a degree of attention on Cusco are also seen through the monuments they established there: their megalithic fortress at Sacsaywaman overlooking the city; their Sun Temple, the *Qorikancha* (meaning the Gold Enclosure) that was the empire's heart.[238] In addition, their two

[237] Although it is not exactly clear where the perimeters or borders of Cusco-as-center lay, with some scholars and/or chroniclers noting that this was fairly delimited to an Inka architectural center and others suggesting it extended to the perimeter of the ceque lines (between 15-25 kilometers out from Cusco) or even to the hydrological area that fed into the city, the fact that Cusco was the core of the empire is undisputed. See John Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning*, 47-51; he refers, for example, to Inca Garcilaso's account of the city's planned development for expansion, and scholars such as Santiago Agurto and Susan Niles regarding agricultural expansion beyond the built city; also see Tom Zuidema and Deborah Poole, "Los Límites de los Cuatro Suyus Incaícos en el Cuzco," *Bulletin de l'institut français d'études Andins* (enero 1982) about where the divisions of "*suyus*" began, which may have been at some distance from Cusco itself even though the roads to the suyus originated in Cusco proper.

[238] Although Hyslop, *Inka State Settlement*, 32, suggests some historical evidence makes the case that the Sun Temple and the quadripartite division of Cuzco were present before its identity as a greater, imperial power was formalized.

main plazas (the *Hawkaypata* and *Kusipata*) visualized the Cusco-based Inkas' role as facilitators of communion with divine beings and sacred ancestors, helping make evident, through material components such as coastal sand brought to fill the plazas and thorny oyster shell objects, that the Inkas' reach was vast and went well beyond their highland aerie.[239] Nor were the Inkas negligent of claiming territory. We have a sense of how land resources were distributed in Cusco proper and, more specifically, water resources, and so we know that the Inka elite were attentive to land use rights and articulated notions of claim. Jeanette Sherbondy asserts that territory was often recognized through access points to springs, rivers, and other water sources, pointing out how this even comes through in various origin stories of the south and central Andes. For example, a version of the cosmic origins of Andean peoples, and the Inkas as well, locates a creator-like deity, *Contiti Viracocha*, as rising forward from Lake Titicaca and from there creating the Sun, Moon, stars, and sky and subsequently calling forward different peoples to populate the region, themselves to emerge from different sites in nature, whether caves, springs, or rivers, etc.[240] Sherbondy writes that narratives about the movement of ancestors from hydrological origin points helped form the perception of regions distinct from one another; *ayllus* (or kin communities) that were linked to a particular water source saw themselves as belonging within the same territory and as having rights to the particular water source

[239] Ibid., The author notes the deep layer of sand that covered Hawkaypata Plaza was removed by the extirpator and magistrate Polo de Ondegardo in 1559, "after finding that it was considered sacred by the local residents..."
[240] Betanzos, 7-9.

that their ancestor may have emerged from.[241] As water sources thus overlapped with sacred sites they simultaneously mapped territoriality. (This goes to the point, furthermore, that socio-political and spiritual-religious interests frequently overlapped.)

The Inkas visualized power through the placement of sacred *wak'as* located along the invisible sight lines called *ceques*, which, in their distribution as arrays emanating from the Temple of the Sun, were linked to different *ayllus* (communities based on kin or descent groups) and *panaqas* (royal *ayllus*), each tasked with tending to them within politico-religious state practices.[242] Of the 328 sacred *wak'as* located along the 41 *ceque* lines diverting from Cusco, more than a hundred have been identified as springs or water sources of some kind.[243] The *wak'as* on the *ceque* system that were water sources were typically designated to the care of more high status Inkas and

[241] Sherbondy, 93-94; see also Jeanette Sherbondy, "Los Ceques: Codigo de Canales en el Cusco Incaico," *Allpanchis*, No. 27, 18 (1986): 42, regarding how this also applied despite moiety divisions within communities, i.e. the "upper/*hanan*" and "lower/*hurin*" halves of a community would be divided typically according to topographic features so that, for example, the upper moiety would have acknowledged access rights to the base of a water source while the lower moiety had access to the lower distribution areas of said source/its canalization.

[242] The *panaqa* is an "*ayllu*" of royal status; as Maria Rostworowski states, "the major stated function of the *panaqa* was to perpetuate the memory and the mummy of its founder. This was done through *quipus* and particularly through chants and rituals which took place on ceremonial occasions in the presence of the sovereign and of the mummies of other dead Incas." See Rostworowski, "Succession, Cooption to Kingship, and Royal Incest among the Inca," 418. In Maria Rostworowski's *History of the Inka Realm*, 16-17, the author references the 1560 dictionary/ *vocabulario* of Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás that states "*panaqa*" as comprising the "idea of lineage and the extended family." She also suggests that these lineage groups—attached to the Inka nobility and distinguished from other *ayllus*—may not have been patrilineal necessarily but (here she references Zuidema) having to do with a "man's siblings, and to matrilineal and exogamous, rather than patrilineal and endogamous, relations. Rostworowski further clarifies that it is likely the royal *panaqas*' matrilineal structure distinguished them from the other (patrilineal) *ayllus*.

[243] Sherbondy, "El Agua: Ideologia y Poder de los Incas," 94.

would have served as territorial markers, visualizing that group's exclusive rights to that water source.[244] That the Inkas applied nuanced ideas of rights over water sources is furthered by disputes that occur later in the colonial period with cases brought to court of different communities' claims to water access, with distinctions presumably being made between water usufruct rights and outright water ownership rights.[245] Furthermore, because all of the *wak'as* (whether water sources or other natural sites marked as sacred) on the *ceque* lines linked back to the Cusco center, we see how this type of mapping also reinforced ideas of center-periphery relations invested in territoriality; it was the Inka state that determined which *wak'as*, and therefore which *ayllus* and *panaqas*, would be part of the *ceque* line system.[246]

A relational space that was volatile or porous at the edges or borders of empire did not detract from the fact that the Inkas still operated a network of control over others. Here it may be apt to point to studies done on core-periphery networks particularly in the context of warfare and defense and reference a particular analytical model that

[244] Sherbondy, "Los Ceques: Codigo de Canales en el Cusco Incaico," 42: "...en los Andes, tradicionalmente, era inconcebible que un ayllu tuviera a su cargo el cuidado y la adoración de una huaca que es una fuente de agua si no fuera suya. Esto se debe a la creencia según la cual los antepasados, que fundaron el *ayllu*, originalmente emergieron del interior de la tierra por las aberturas, así como ocurre con los manantiales, lagos y ríos...Este acto inicial de fundición del *ayllu* confería todo tipo de derechos sobre las aguas y las tierras que riegan." Sherbondy also states that the idea of territoriality here also extends to the land area that the water source/water canal irrigates.
[245] Ibid., 45. The author notes that in a dispute over rights to a canal between the *ayllus* Capac Hatun and Sucsu-Aucaille, the latter group argued that if they allowed the former to clean the waterways that were rightfully Sucsu-Aucaille's then that very act would express some type of claim to the resource rather than just usufruct rights, which had been the arrangement during the Inka period. She suggests that the *ayllu* Sucsu-Aucaille resorted to a defense based on Andean ideas of property and use whereas Capac Hatun relied on Spanish legal canon: Capac Hatun won the court case.
[246] Ibid., 41 and 46.

can help put the Inka strategy in perspective. According to "complex network analyses" models, the notion of centrality is correlated with "how connected one point or node is with other nodes in the network," and this is mitigated (in terms of a hierarchy where center dominates totally) by notions of "cohesion," which "measures the degree to which nodes within a system are inter-connected."[247] Patrick Mullins suggests that when we see more "cohesive" networks, we also see a more likely scenario of "inter-visibility" wherein visible ties with as many allies and enemies as possible are made as a means of survival, highlighting the power of collective nodes over any one "center." One context he analyzes is that of the Lake Titicaca region during the Late Intermediate period (just before Inka expansion), an area that was characterized by politically fragmented communities of Aymara corporate groups/*ayllus* who were coequals and whose power structure shifted through various defensive alliances, the likes of which were made visible through the *pukaras*, or fortress sites, that peppered their landscape.[248] Of the same groups and their fortresses, Elizabeth N. Arkush writes: "Visible from great distances, and especially from the vantage of the hilltop Colla settlements, [*pukaras*] formed ever-present reference points, concretely locating the observer at all times in an extensive social world."[249] Visibility or inter-visibility in the case of these coequal groups was part of the security mechanism because visual connection made explicit in the landscape was

[247] Patrick Mullins, "Webs of Defense: Structure and Meaning of Defensive Visibility Networks in Prehispanic Peru," *Journal of Archaeological Science*: reports 8 (2016): 347.
[248] Ibid., 347-48.
[249] Elizabeth N. Arkush, *Hillforts of the Ancient Andes; Colla Warfare, Society, and Landscape* (University of Florida Press, 2015), 141.

a way of reaffirming alliances, even temporary ones. Here we may interject that there were likely ritual/religious intonations to these "visualizing" practices because the landscape— in our understanding of relational ties with sacred landscape—is alive with witnesses (e.g. *apus*, rivers, lakes, etc.) who could have been brought into alliance-making ceremonies.

In contrast, when we see "centralized" networks, there is less "inter-visibility" or visualization meant to be about equals visualizing coequal alliances and instead there is visual domination, characterized by such things as "defensively oriented centers, colonies, or fortresses" that "inflate centralization values."[250] In this analysis, Mullins references the Chimú Empire, a highly centralized power who expanded throughout the Middle and Upper Moche Valleys in Peru's central coast region during the Late Intermediate period and fell to the Inkas, ultimately. The Chimú expansion was visualized in the landscape in various imposing ways, such as of fortresses and even wall structures, one of which "spans the valley floor between twin fortress and complexes, furthermore, with local hubs or settlements that would be located near these to reinforce Chimú political power.[251]" Mullins notes that because the frontier areas would have been landscapes of conflict, there were probably both central hubs but also a decentralized "cohesive equals" network upon which the central hubs were superimposed.

[250] Mullins, 348.
[251] Ibid.

My suggestion is that the Inkas flexed both identities. On the one hand, the Inkas clearly exhibited centralized power in their settlements, in such visual culture expressions as architecture and in the regulated production of textiles and ceramics, as well as in the control over laborers such as the *mitmaqkuna*. However, in their gift or reciprocal exchange networks (an iteration of the principle of *ayni* or reciprocal exchange networks within *ayllus*/kin group communities) —and the way textiles were a big part of this— the Inkas also flexed the inter-connected, relational mode. The expression of dual "cohesive" and "centralized" models in their territorial strategies draws parallels to their dueling but complementary identity as herder-cultivators (referred to earlier in this chapter). If we recall, there were two prominent Inka origin stories that circulated: one set their emergence in the high plains of the Lake Titicaca region where pastoralism is a part of life and the other placed their origins in the fertile valleys south of Cusco, where agriculture would have more significantly shaped social organization. Thus, Inka identity in its very roots reflected ideas about them that were in tension to one another; tension and opposition seems to have been part of the cultural vocabulary. Textile borders and the zigzag, particularly, articulated this tension as well, dressing it as relational and symbolic of interconnectedness for the benefit of the outside viewer (and potential enemy).

To return to Guaman Poma's drawing of the Inka officials and the *saywas*, or boundary markers, we see that not only does he show us these important rocks—which could be animated beings on the landscape—but he shows us again the

zigzag/*q'inqu* edge on the textile garments. In the left-hand figure, the emphasis seems directed to how the borders of the textile are activated by this pattern. At the side seam and at the bottom edge of the man's *unku/*tunic where it hits the knee we see it as a distinctive feature. If, as has been argued, the Inka emperor could "hold" the empire on his body, this would also apply to his proxies in the sense that their bodies too may be read as Inka territory—and their hemlines, the territory's edge.[252] The detail of the zigzag/*q'inqu* embroidery relays that the empire's territorial border zones are relational, interactive, volatile.

Walking the Line(s)

The movement of the Inka body itself across the landscape, furthermore, would be a form of tracing and tracking claim to land. As distance from the Cusco core increased and administrative control over land and labor resources was stretched, the Inkas pressed their imperial ideology through building design and through transportable materials like ceramics and the textiles worn on the bodies of their military and administrators. The Inka military figure who would have worn a standardized imperial *unku* would have been a highly visible form moving through the landscape, bodily visualizing an ever-expanding Inka territory.

[252] Finley Hughes, 156-159. See also Stephen D. Houston and Tom Cummins, "Body, Presence, and Space in Andean and Mesoamerican Rulership," in *Palaces of the Ancient World*, Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, October 1998, eds. Susan Toby Evans and Joanne Pillsbury (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2004), 359-386.

Here it may be useful to think about how space and knowledge of space can be enacted, framing it according to an Indigenous perspective. Juanita Sundberg writes about how the act of walking resonates with her understanding of Indigenous production of knowledge and space: "trails, paths, and tracks mark and bring into being important cognitive connections and social interactions."[253] For her, within a contemporary scholarship that revisits the historical biases and limitations of disciplines like geography, walking and moving through the world corresponds to embodying knowledge of place and geography and, as an activity or enactment and reenactment of attachment to land, can also be understood as political. Though she draws on the contemporary Zapatista movement as a touchstone for configuring walking as a "praxis" through which knowledge of space and place is embodied, it serves the context of the Inkas and how they experienced their Andean terrain, since their empire was constructed, visualized, and materialized through exhaustive networks— comprised of roadways, sacred sight lines, widely distributed *wak'as*/shrines—that were politicized in their own day through pedestrian interaction. In the case of the Inkas and of their military (who we may imagine crisscrossing the countryside wearing the *qullqapata*/checkerboard *unkus*), encounters along the pathways and borders of the Inka empire were what made the empire come alive.

As a representative of the Inka state, with a garment exclusively issued by the state, military and administrative figures who carried on their garments motifs such as the

[253] Sundberg, 39.

zigzag would have embodied the presence of Inka power and the nature of its territory.[254] Within an Inka understanding of relational space—where borders were conceived of less in terms of demarcation and separation and more in terms of continually contending forces— the mobility of textiles would have materialized the idea that Inka territory was bounded not by firm demarcations but rather by forms that "punctuated" or "pulsed" through the landscape. In the sacred-political arena of the Andes, many things could and did *shift* or *pulse* according to interactive, interpenetrative, and responsive social interactions and complementary tensions, which were ultimately productive.

Heads of Authority and the Fringes of Empire

To further this point, we can also look at the Inka coca bag (*ch'uspa*) with respect to Inka territoriality and how "agitated rest" along the border may have been visualized. We see it again in a drawing by Guaman Poma, with the *ch'uspa* bag wrapped around the Inka ruler's wrist (Fig. 24). *Ch'uspa* were also made of the finest *qumpi* textiles and were also carefully regulated by the Inka state in their production and circulation. The coca bag was a prestige object for the Inka and only nobles or their close allies were allowed to wear them such that their use was instantly

[254] Military campaigns we would also note were likely planned in accordance with other aspects of Andean life, namely the agricultural calendar that dictated so much of Andean life—it would not have been pragmatic to carry out military actions during the periods of sowing/harvesting. See Susan Elizabeth Ramirez, "Negociando el imperio: el estado inca como culto," *Bulletin de l'institut français d'études andines*, 37 (1) (2008): 10, "...el servicio militario se limitaba de ordinario a las temporadas no destinadas a la agricultura..."

associated with the semi-divine Inka ruler, or *Sapa* Inka: the textile bag was "the embodied physicality of Inca rulership."[255]

Fig. 24. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. *MANGO CAPAC INGA,* folio 86 [86] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/86/en/text/

In an essay on the emblematic value of *ch'uspas* within the Inka imperial power system, Finley Hughes focuses on a type of *ch'uspa*, the *pendant* coca bag, composed of multiple parts and that includes edges with red fringe and corners with tassels.[256] The red fringe detailing, she notes, directly invokes the Inka ruler since it mimics the red fringe headdress, called the *maskaypacha*, that was the peremptory symbol of Inka royalty. The fringe element was a sign of the sovereign that invoked his warrior or conquering aspect. A seventeenth-century Spanish chronicle suggests that each

[255] Finley Hughes, 150.
[256] Ibid., 171.

plied yarn that made up the royal red fringe was symbolic of a "conquered enemy and the blood of his severed head."[257] In an example of a pendant *ch'uspa*/coca bag held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, we can note the visual impact of the dangling red fringe and tassel (Fig. 25).

Fig. 25. (Provincial) Inka *ch'uspa*/coca bag; Late Horizon or Early Colonial, c. 1400-1600; Camelid and cotton fibers; Tapestry weave combined with warp-pattern double-cloth; 20 1/16 x 7 1/16 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, The Elizabeth Day McCormick Collection, no. 51.2452

[257] Tom Zuidema, "The Lion in the City: Royal Symbols of Transition in Cuzco" in *Animal Myths and Metaphors in South America*, ed. Gary Urton (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985): 214. He references Martín de Murúa's *Historia General del Piru.* See Martín de Murúa*, Historia General del Piru: Facsimile of J. Paul Getty Museum*, fascimile of J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16, edited by Michelle Bonnice, Chris Foster, Rebecca Vera-Martínez, Jack Ross (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008) Ch. 9, fol.29r, where the author refers to Mayta Capac's conquests: "...y muerto su padre Lloque Yupanqui, fue estendiendo mas su seniorio e Reyno de suerte que cada dia se yban haciendo estos yngas mas poderosos ganando y conquistando tierras nuevas e juntandolas a su corona—la qual era la masca y pacha que es una borla de lana colorada finissima puesta en la cabeça que lo tomava de sien a sien..."; See also Houston and Cummins, "Body, Presence, and Space in the Andean and Mesoamerican Rulership," 379; see also *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History*, entry on 'The Inka's tunics', eds. Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, Sandra Lauderdale Graham (New York: SR Books, 1998), 17, referencing a colonial tunic that shows headdresses with fringe: "Five of the crowns in each row have red fringes, while one is yellow. Two sixteenth-century chroniclers, Pedro Cieza de León and Martin Murúa, claimed that each red thread in this lower fringe represented one of the Inka's enemies slain in battle. And el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, writing in the early seventeenth century, informs us that an Inkaic crown prince wore a yellow fringe to symbolize his status as an initiate and to indicate he had not yet killed an enemy. Working constructively from these fragments of information, Zuidema suggests that the five red-fringed crowns in the two rows in the lower half of the second uncu may relate to the two arrangements of five trophy heads to either side of the ahuaqui yoke in the royal tunic's upper half."

The sixteenth-century chronicler Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa retells a narrative about how the soon-to-be ninth Inka ruler, Pachakuti, led his captives back to Cusco after a formative battle: "...dressed in long robes with many tassels."[258] In that context this other dangling form, the tassel, serves as metaphor for conquest as well. Tassels were associated with women's wear—which corresponds to an Andean conceptualization of conquest in gendered terms. In their visual form, tassels recall trophy head displays that have been part of the visual language of (ritual or actual) battle in the Andes over millennia. For example, in Nasca burials and in Nasca iconography trophy heads are recognized through the way the decapitated head is treated, wherein a hole is made in the frontal bone of skull and a carrying cord is strung through it.[259] Tassels in combination with fringes together recall trophy heads and the way a carrying cord ends in a skull.

Various scholars of the Andes have referenced the significance of the head in rhetoric of renewal and authority within such contexts as conquest, territoriality, or also spirituality and religion among Andean societies across history. Decapitated heads have been found in burial settings dating as far back as 2000 BCE.[260] The head as a

[258] Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, edited by Sir Clements Markham (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1999) 105. Also we may reference the Mochica, see for example, John W. Verano, "War and Death in the Moche World: Osteological Evidence and Visual Discourse," *Studies in the History of Art*, v. 63 (2001): 114. Verano describes Mochica iconography of battle triumph, where the victor is seen to strip "the vanquished of his weapons and elaborate clothing, which he then hangs from his own war club." The hanging, dangling, clothes of the conquered recall fringes, tassels.
[259] David M. Browne, Helaine Silverman, Rubén Garcia, "A Cache of 48 Nasca Trophy Heads from Cerro Carapo, Peru," *Latin American Antiquity*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Sep. 1993): 275.
[260] Ibid., 274-294.

focus of power in the body comes across in the visual record and, most vividly, in the collection of trophy heads as symbols of power transferrable. The early Nasca culture of the southern desert region of Peru during the first centuries of the common era has provided prolific examples of the practice of head-taking, both in the archaeological record and in visualizations in ceramic, for example. The value of decapitated heads as trophies for the victors likely lies in the idea that to take a captive's head means to assume the enemy's vital energy or to lay claim to regenerative forces/power through ritual engagement with the head. This seems to have become particularly relevant for the Nasca during a period of extreme drought, towards the fifth century CE, when, along with a decrease in water resources there was an increase in warfare and visualizations of conflict.[261] In this closeup image of a woven cloth from the proto-Nasca period, c. 400-100 BCE, the side edges of the fabric are adorned with a fringe consisting of human figures constructed with loop-stitching (Fig. 26). We see here an early expression of how the human body is introduced into a discourse at the "edge" of textiles, evocative of how bodies transmit vital energy at the edges of other spaces—such as territory—whether through violent engagement or other, more benign, relational practices.

[261] Christina Conlee, "Decapitation and Rebirth: A Headless Burial from Nasca, Peru," *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (June 2007): 439.

Fig. 26. Proto-Nasca woven mantle, c. 400-100 BCE. Loop-stitch fringe figures, two loom-widths sewn together in the middle, 54 x 54 in., Peabody Andover Collection, no. 95.22.1 (photograph by the author)

In this Nasca example, the fabric originated as an *unku* form but its neck opening was subsequently stitched closed so that it became a mantle-like form. The array of human figures here extends the idea that human bodies (likely of captives or vanquished enemies) and their life forces can be absorbed through the textile. Among the later Mochica and Wari of the central Andes there are also examples that point to the value of the human captive as trophy. Among the Wari, evidence suggests that the decapitated head of an enemy or ritual sacrificial victim served to bolster the authority of the state. In her study of Andean textiles in more recent contexts, Denise Y. Arnold considers how textiles can be considered as living entities that have the power to "capture" the enemy in different visual and conceptual ways. Through a textile, a person might make visible the "de-subjectivation" of the enemy (whose

subjectivity, or life force might reappear subsequently in other contexts): "At the end of the *chaine operatoire*, textile beings, now worn as clothes, meld into the soul and body of their wearer, as they too meld the wearer's life and potential."[262] Following this line, the twining of the red fringe on the *Sapa* Inka's *maskaypacha*, and as seen alongside the dangling tassels of an Inka pendant *ch'uspa*/coca bag, could materialize for the wearer and the viewer the idea that the Inkas were formidable conquerors. The embellishment of the edges or corners of the bag through these red flecks, or "bloody strands," conveys that although explicit separation or exclusion may not have been part of an Inka relational framework, dominance and hierarchy and conquest *were*. The border, as a relational, responsive site of encounter and movement could invariably result in the rendering of enemy blood.

Further to the point noted above, beyond the symbolic messages we read into the *ch'uspa*/coca bag's fringes and tassels, Finley Hughes also emphasizes the importance of textiles as mobile artifacts. The value of the *ch'uspas* she discusses also rested significantly in how they were also *mobile* emblems of Inka imperial power. The wearer of the coca bag might typically have been a provincial administrator who carried out the logistical duties of empire across the landscape and their body thus became a sign of empire, tagged by the Inka textile bag resting close to his body as he traveled.[263] The mobile human body wearing an Inka tunic, with its

[262] Denise Y. Arnold, "Making Textiles into Persons: Gestural Sequences and Relationality in Communities of Weaving Practice of the South Central Andes," 256.
[263] Finley Hughes, 159.

zigzags and striping at the edges, as well as the red tendrils of fiber dangling from his coca bag, visualized Inka territoriality quite forcefully, structuring space and the potential political extension of space.

Through the strict regulation and specific visual formats (shape, design, fiber quality) of these materials, as well as their control over how these objects circulated, the Inka state signaled something about its core/periphery framework. With their textiles they could mobilize— at great distances and with little exertion— an authority rooted in the Cusco center. Anyone who wore an elite Inka garment was essentially a stand-in for the Inka state and would be regarded as an extension of its power. This idea of center moving to periphery and vice versa, i.e. the Inka state having the capacity to cull resources from outlying areas, was also visualized in the way that not only was sand from the coast brought to *Hawkaypata* plaza in Cusco (mentioned above) but surface elements of the sacred plaza were turned around and disseminated to distant parts of the empire.[264]

That the Inkas may have viewed territory and borders in terms of a fluidity of interactions also comes forward in the general patterns of resettlement they undertook. D'Altroy describes the way resettlement of ethnic groups—*etnías*—around *Tawantinsuyu* can be visualized as "an exercise in fractal geometry. A single one of the eighty-odd provinces, named after a particular ethnic group, could contain

[264] Hyslop, 37.

members of dozens of other etnías."[265] It also come forward in the Inka class of "moveable" settlers, the *mitmaqkuna*. The *mitmaqkuna* were Inka subjects, recognized as specialists in a craft or some other function, who were relocated to new locations. *Mitmaqkuna* communities representing distinct ethnic identities carried out specific "colonizing" roles that served to support the Inka state politically and economically. Distributing peoples across occupied terrain in order to strengthen state power speaks to the idea that exchange between points or creating "pulsing centers" of creative (and ideological) output was valuable to the Inka political establishment.

This chapter has pursued the question of how textile examples in Inka visual culture materialized aspects of Inka space and territory, and through their border details alluded to the instability inherent to a rapidly expanding imperial structure. Considering their rapid growth and that their hold on imperial power was continually threatened by tenuous treaties and alliances and sometimes outright rebellion, I suggest that the Inkas approached their territory so as to entertain the idea that activity at the edges was part of the empire's vitality. My argument is that in the Inka relational worldview, the notion that the *volatile* or *agitated* border zone of territory—as well as in materializations of territory as seen in the military figure, the *qullqapata* military tunic, the *sawya* stones, textile *q'inqu*/zigzag motifs and the

[265] Terence N. D'Altroy, "Remaking the Social Landscape: Colonization in the Inka Empire," in *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters,* ed. Gil Stein (Alburqueque, NM: SR Press, 2005), 265.

fringes and edges of textile forms—caused less anxiety than the concept would in other contexts and in fact was embraced within strategies of empire.

In the next chapter, I will elaborate on the Inka practice of "distributing" bodies across territory to express the Inka state's power/identity at a distance from the center, also thinking about how women's bodies were activated in this way.

Chapter Three

Tracing Empire: Women as Power Players, Alliance Makers, and Border Figures in Inka Territoriality

The Shape of the Landscape

In the previous chapter I considered how textile formats associated with Inka men's use functioned within a visual system that found merit in expressing the edges of space–both the textilic and the territorial space—in terms of volatility and productive tension. In this chapter I will expand on how this ideology played out in the male sphere, and also begin examining the relationship between textiles, landscape, and ideas of border as reflected on women's roles and women's bodies in the pre-contact Inka world. The Inkas expressed the relationship between textiles, the inhabited space, and ideas of border through women—namely through women's roles as weavers (the *akllakuna*) and through their bodies as tribute subjects. Conscripted to serve the state in ways that essentially made visible Inka control over outside communities and their resources, *akllas* were an expression of the Inka body politic. The chapter points to examples of textiles associated with women's wear that are legible within an Inka discourse of conquest closely interlaced with women's roles wherein women visualized Inka claim to new territories.

Textiles are legible within a discourse of conquest closely interlaced with women's roles wherein women visualized Inka claim to new territories. Certain categories of

women come to overlap with expressions of the Andean landscape in ways that suggest that claim to land could be conflated with the female body. In the more forceful expressions of this, the conquered land was seen as female. Alongside the relational aspect and core-periphery modeling of the Inka inhabited space (brought up in chapters 1 and 2), here I explore the conceptualization of the Andean landscape through the lens of the "body" and arrive at the relevant question of gender regarding women's roles in territorial claim or materializing territory.

Within the construct of the Andean space as "sacred landscape," it is not only thought of as "living" but also is often equated to the human body. Using the land-as-body metaphor that has relevance today in the Andes as a backdrop against which to think about gender in the pre-contact Inka context may be useful. It sets a template for sorting out how gender was expressed spatially or became an aspect of how the Inkas configured space.[266] At one level in the Andes we see how the landscape comes "alive" in a familiar way, encoded as body and, at another, we see how certain aspects of the landscape lend themselves to superimposition with female identity.

In his late twentieth century ethnographic work among a Qollahuaya (Kallawaya) *ayllu* (kin-based community) of medicinal specialists in the Andean high plateau near

[266] Benjamin Alberti and Andres Leguens, "Toward a Situated Ontology of Bodies and Landscapes in the Archaeology of the Southern Andes," in *Andean Ontologies: New Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by María Cecilia Lozada and Henry Tantaleán (University Press of Florida, 2019) 213-239, offer that relationality—in reference to Amazonian perspectivism/animism— easily applies to how the Andean space was lived in as a "living" thing.

the archaeological site of Tiwanaku (in present-day Bolivia), Joseph W. Bastien discusses their views on how the body's physiology resonates with the land and vice versa.[267] He notes that, even as far back as the mid sixteenth century, colonial records document this community's view that their different ecological zones and land features were an integral whole equated with the wholeness of the human body and its necessary parts. Centuries later, the Qollahuaya mountain community he worked with was distributed in three zones of different (still fairly high) elevations, where each environmental zone was understood as a distinct part of an overall "body," with systems similar to human physiology, mostly synthesized as a hydraulic system that operated according to centripetal and centrifugal flows.[268] Tangentially, when thinking about Andean ordering systems, instead of the body as metaphor, Gail Silverman posits we should think about *biology* as metaphor for how Andean culture (and cultural expression via, for example, landscape or textiles) is ordered.[269]

The Qollahuaya community's three spatial zones were equated with areas of the human body: it had a recognized upper part or area of highest elevation that included its "head," "eyes," and "mouth," a middle part that included its "stomach" and "heart"

---

[267] Joseph W. Bastien, "Qollahuaya-Andean Body Concepts: A Topographical-Hydraulic Model of Physiology," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol.87, No.3 (Sept. 1985): 595-611.
[268] Ibid., 597-98.
[269] Gail P. Silverman, La Metáfora del Cuerpo Humano: Una Nueva Hipótesis en relación al significado de la iconografía de los textiles Q'ero," *Anthropologica*, 12(12) (1994): 65, https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/oaiart?codigo=5042150 Silverman applies the construct of biology to her analysis of four motifs that are prominent in textiles from the Central Andean community of Q'ero, each of which expresses a biological process fundamental to the creation of life, e.g. energy conversion, matter, union of female and male, and fertilization or reproduction.

(i.e. *sonqo* in Quechua), and a part of lower elevation that entailed its "legs" and "toenails," which were recognized as "indentations on the river."[270] Within these divisions, there is also a further understanding of how the parts contribute to circulatory systems. Bastien notes that "although the *sonco* is translated as 'heart,' the Qollahuayas refer to it as a compression-distillation center, which performs circulatory, respiratory, and digestive processes."[271] (Here as an aside we may note that the circulatory distribution of forces, such as the flow of blood and oxygen, that has the heart as a nexus or point of convergence recalls the concept of *tinku* discussed in chapter 2, where we saw that convergence, and even violent convergence— often of fluids, but of countering energies more generally—includes a generative, transformative, proactive/productive aspect.) Thus, the body is seen as a way through which chaotic processes come into order. However, consideration of the individual body as a template of sorts for the sacred geography of the Andes does not prioritize *individuality* per se within a social scheme. As Catherine Allen notes, in the Andean

[270] Bastien, 596-97; As a side note, in the Andes, the concept of trifold experience and value denominated in threes is evident in many things, for example, the spatial divisions of *kay pacha* (the terrestrial world), *hanan pacha* (the upper world), *uku pacha* (the inner world). Furthermore, the three community zones laid out in the Qollahuaya context, we can note here, would resonate with Murra's articulation of the economic zones within a "vertical archipelago." In other examples, Gail Silverman, "La Metáfora del Cuerpo," 68, notes that in the Q'ero community, in the Cusco department in southern Peru, there is a center line that runs through one of the preferred motifs, a rhomboid form called *Hatun Inti* (Great Sun), and that this line is referred to by the women in the community as sonq'o (heart) but the men refer to it as *mayu* (river) or *ñan* (roadway); still others, such as those tasked with astronomical observations, call it *chawpi,* or center. Here we see that overlap between body part (heart/*sonqo*) and landscape feature (*ñan*/roadway or *mayu*/river) can converge in the format of the textile.

[271] Bastien, 598.

worldview personal "distinctiveness is derived from a unique position in a web of 'socio-ritual connections."[272]

A body, in other words, matters only in so much as it relates to *other* bodies. And, in the Indigenous Andean context, the most basic relationship of "body to body," so to speak, is the gendered pairing of male-female. Herein, the integrity of the single body as a symbol of order gives way to the harmonic integration of the essential pair, man-woman. In Quechua, the man-woman dynamic is conceptualized in a single expression that melds the two words: *q'ariwarmi* (*q'ari* = male; *warmi* = female). The Andean social order, as well as features of the Andean environment, are understood to have *q'ariwarmi*, or conjoined male-female aspects. Turning back to the body itself, even *it* has nested male-female aspects. For example, one's hands are considered their "female" element and their feet, "male."[273] Allen explains that "female and male elements ought to enfold each other to produce a single (but inherently dual) being," and that over time, as one ages, one relinquishes aspects of the opposite gender and so must regain "completeness" through marriage.[274] In other words, male-female duality or complementarity resonates with order at different scales or within different prisms of social and physical reality for Andeans—for example, at the level of the body, at the level of the lived social environment, and at the level of variations in a region's natural geography. Tristan Platt also writes about

[272] Allen, "The Sadness of Jars," 313.
[273] Ibid., 314.
[274] Ibid.

the fundamental organizational ideas in the Andes that use the human body's symmetry as template. For example, he points to righthand and lefthand associations at various levels of social interaction and political placement: not only between couples but also between moieties in community social divisions—the "right" side is associated with the masculine and the "left" with feminine—within which there is perceived dominance of the right over the left.[275]

This well-known drawing by the Indigenous author Juan de Santa Cruz Pachakuti Yamqui Salcamaygua was stated to be a rendering of an inscribed plate housed in the Inka capital at their *Qorikancha* (Temple of the Sun). The image outlines in visual format an Andean cosmology rooted in gender complementarity. What comes forward initially is a parallel structure, i.e. for every male element on one side of the composition, there is a female counterpart on the other side (Fig. 27).

[275] Tristan Platt, "Symétries en Miroir: Le concept de yanantin chez les Machas de Bolivie," *Annales* 33-5-6 (Année 1978): 1102.

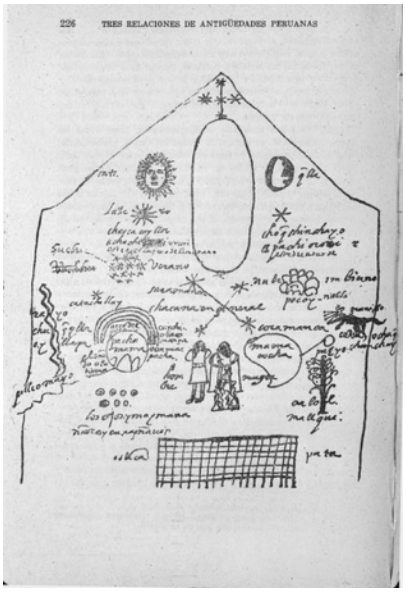

Fig. 27. Andean Cosmology or "Pachacuti Yamqui's drawing of the Qoricancha," Billie Jean Isbell Andean Collection, ID ISB_01138, Cornell University

The image visualizes a cosmic *q'ariwarmi* dualism, where male and female are comprised of distinct "societies, each concerned with their own organization and transmission through time," with the celestial (ancient, primeval) forms located at the top register, followed by natural, earthly phenomena below, followed by the human apical pair towards the bottom— each generation of pairings creating a balance.[276] However, the parallelism between the gender elements is disrupted to a degree by an underlying structural asymmetry between "right" and "left."

Importantly, following an Andean perceptual scheme, we should classify the right and left sides in relation to the object's (here, the drawing's) position, not that of the viewer. That is, within an Andean conceptualization of space and order in space, the

[276] Gelles, 713.

place of primacy or positionality is given to the object, form, or entity that holds the central or "insider" position within a specific context.[277] Rolena Adorno has argued for applying this organizational lens to imagery produced by another well-known Indigenous author and writer, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, noting that in his drawings, Guaman Poma locates position of primacy in the paper/document, not in the viewer or reader of said document.[278] Following suit, applying this interpretation to this drawing to Pachakuti Salcamaygua's drawing means that what the viewer sees on the left side is recognized as the *image's* right side, or the "conceptual right side."[279] From that perspective, the Sun, *Inti*, is on the (paper's) right side and this positionality, which an Andean would understand as male, subtly gives it a dominant role. We can recognize *Inti* by the rays extending outward from a circle with facial features, while his counterpart, *Killa* (the Moon), is seen on the *paper's* left side, the female side. Correspondingly, on the lower left, from the position of the paper—or right, from the outside viewer's perspective—we see the woman, while opposite, we see the man. Together they demonstrate the fundamental *q'ariwarmi* opposition as embodied in human complements. Other things that align with "masculine" as seen in

[277] For another example of how these concepts are seen in different formats/contexts see Tom Cummins, "Queros, Curacas, and the Community," in *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2002), 310-311, where he discusses the "symbolic" spaces of *Hanan* and *Hurin* in ceremonial contexts of the early colonial period which help visualize how positionality is enacted in terms of the person or entity that is seen as having authority in a given context.
[278] See Rolena Adorno's "The Language of History in Guaman Poma's Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno," in *From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period*, edited by Rolena Adorno (Syracuse, NY: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1982), 109-173.
[279] Ibid. Apart from the way that conceptual right is dominant over conceptual left, there is also rank that follows a diagonal line, from (conceptual/insider's view) upper right to lower left, that can be applied to lived space as well as to representational space (such as within a paper's imagery).

the image are, for example: lightning bolts, rainbows, Venus morning star, the Pleiades/summer stars; things that align with "feminine" include lakes, ancestor bundles, Venus evening star, clouds, etc.[280] Still today in the Andes, the mountain lords, or *apus*, are typically identified as male, while large bodies of water, such as lakes, are identified as female.

The fundamental *q'ariwarmi* or male-female complementary opposition laid out in Santa Cruz Pachakuti's drawing was also manifested in the Inkas' physical and social ordering of the inhabited space. Andean communities were divided into halves, or moieties, based on distinctions of lineage that assessed one group as being "upper," or *hanan* (seen as masculine), and another group as being "lower," or *hurin* (with feminine aspect), in status.[281] The moiety division is expressed in the word "*saya;*" as an organizational framework this duality was extended and institutionalized across the Inka empire, creating the basis for social, political, and labor organization (e.g. "institutionalized duality" is seen in the Inka military system and in Cusco's judicial models that assured representation of both *hanan* and *hurin* factions).[282] This upper-

[280] Anthony F. Aveni, *Skywatchers of Ancient Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 311; Platt, "Symétries en Miroir," 1092-93.
[281] See Gordon F. McEwan, *The Incas,* 68-79. The *Hanan* (masculine) and *Hurin* (feminine) divisions are articulated also in the royal lines of Inka rulership. The first five Inka rulers were associated with the lower, or *Hurin*, moiety of Cusco which was associated with the priestly class; they were residents of the *Qoricancha*/ Sun Temple. The sixth Inka ruler, Inka Roca, and the following rulers up until the fall of Huayna Qhapaq all belonged to the upper, *Hanan*, moiety, and resided in palaces in that upper section of Cusco. See Rostworowski's *History of the Inka Realm*, 16-17, for discussion of how the Inkas' kin group or (royal) *ayllu*, which were called *panaqas*, may have been organized around matrilineal descent and this would correspond to the first Inka kings being associated with *Hurin*/feminine.
[282] Gelles, 713.

as-male/lower-as-female intracommunity opposition further extended to regional oppositions, etc.

Irene Silverblatt argued that in their expansionist, conquering mode the Inkas shifted the broader Andean social template of gender parallelism towards one in which they could increasingly exert dominance. By taking localized ideas of gender balance and instituting gender constructs at regional and state levels and in terms of relationships between the state (masculine) and subjugated communities (feminine), the Inkas upended gender parallelism. In her analysis, Silverblatt gives the example of how the Inkas usurped veneration of the Pachamama in localized contexts into their larger imperial structure, binding the Earth goddess to her Inka noble caretakers and turning devotion to her into a state affair (versus its prior expression in local festivities) that legitimized Inka power: "By worshipping her at festivals that representatives from conquered provinces were obliged to attend, the Incas ensured that the Pachamama's new message [of equation with Inka power] was not ignored."[283] Paul Gelles also points to how the Inkas' shrewdly applied gender constructs for political benefit.[284] Gender parallelism was not a model of symmetry and when the Inkas appropriated it,

[283] Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 49.
[284] Gelles, 718. Gelles considers how the hierarchical elements of the Inka state and the extractive tributary interests within the state apparatus concentrated attention on, and in fact shaped, the social/spatial divisions of many Andean communities, i.e. the moiety structure. In other words, the Inkas' hierarchical social dynamic crystallized moiety organization as they vied for access to resources.

an asymmetry was institutionalized and, furthermore, visualized to serve state expansionist and exploitative purposes.

Within the more rarified circles of Andean elites, the social structure based on male/female complementarity or gender parallel structure may have had more complex aspects as well. The *ayllu* has been discussed as a corporate kin group that forms an underlying cohesion or model of social organization for Andean community structure. In the case of the Inka royal figures, their *ayllus* were distinguished from other *ayllus* by the designate "*panaqa*," which, according to Maria Rostworowski and Tom Zuidema, may have emphasized the importance of descent through the matriline versus other *ayllus* that more commonly were patrilineal in structure. In the Inkas' *panaqa* structure, a man "would belong to his sister's kin group and his children would belong to a different group."[285] (This seems to come across etymologically, too, as the root word "*pana*" is the Quechua word for a man's sister, in contrast to, for example, the word for a sister's sister, "*ñaña"*). In extrapolation, a potential heir to the Inka throne would associate with his mother's lineage and belong to her kin group and the question of which son would have higher claim to the throne might be dependent on who his mother was and what her lineage was (and what her proximity to a recognized previous Inka ruler was). Zuidema notes that we cannot know with enough clarity what the *hanan-hurin* opposition meant with regard to origin and occupation but he does state with regard to rank distinction that "[Upper] Hanan-

[285] Rostworowski, *History of the Inka Realm*, 16-17.

Cuzco consisted of descendants of Inca kings in Inca women and [Lower] Hurin-Cuzco of those in non-Inca women."[286] A woman, therefore, had great bearing on her child's place within Inka hierarchy and her lineage could, to different degrees, round out the sharp edges of the fairly messy process of Inka dynastic succession.

Therefore, we can read women's roles among the Inkas and their territorial ploys with a little more nuance. There are examples that come through in early colonial records of more expansive political and even military roles for women in the pre-contact period. Maria Rostworowski writes, for example, of women warriors who were recognized as formidable opponents to Inka expansion. Women associated with the Cullaca nation in the high plains/ *altiplano* area of Collao led rebellions against the Inka state, defending their territory from within a fortress that was called *Warmi Pukara* (or "women's fort") and finally defeating the military forces sent by the Inka state.[287]

Rostworowski relays another interesting account of female authority during the period of Inka expansion that poses two female figures in authoritative roles, pitted against one another, which may also reveal something about Inka strategies with regard to territorial conflict. The account is of a female leader of Guarco, a site that was well guarded by natural land features but that also had defensive structures such

[286] Zuidema, "Hierarchy and Space in Incaic Social Organization," 50.
[287] Maria Rostworowski, *Estructuras Andinas del Poder: Ideología religiosa y Política* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2018), 133.

as walls and fortresses marking the edges of its space. The Inka ruler, Tupac Yupanqui (r.1471-93), tried to lay siege to the community with no success and it was finally the ruler's spouse, the *quya*/queen, who came up with a plan to defeat the Guarcos.[288] The *quya's* strategy was to tell the female ruler of Guarco that the Inkas wanted to forge an alliance which would allow the woman to remain in her leadership role and that the alliance would be celebrated through ritual feasting and ceremony, enacting the kind of reciprocal practices that nurtured *ayllu*/community relations throughout the Andes. However, this was the Inka *quya's* ruse to convince the Guarco people to travel for a fictitious gathering, leaving their land vulnerable to incoming Inka troops. The account demonstrates that among the fifteenth century pre-contact Inkas, female authority —whether within administrative or in this case also military functions—was granted certain recognition. Silverblatt, furthermore, notes that according to the early colonial account of Murúa, Inka *quyas* had been known to rule in the absence of kings whose military campaigns took them away from Cusco.[289] The narrative of the Inka *quya* and the Guarcos also references two different conceptualizations of territoriality: for the Guarcos, what comes through in the story is the importance of guarding territory with walls and defenses to keep the "other" away; in contrast, for the Inkas, the story highlights how, although they were not

[288] Maria Rostworowski, "Ła Mujer en el Perú Prehispánico," *Documento de Trabajo No. 72*, *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Serie: Etnohistoria* 2, (1992): 11 (accessed Aug.15 2021 http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/laoap/iep/ddt072.pdf)
[289] Silverblatt, 59.

averse to warring, they obtained territorial gain by mining the theme of reciprocity, or relational practice, even though in this case subterfuge was also involved.

These narratives regarding elite women raise the question of how fixed gender roles could have been and what these roles encompassed in terms of the state. Examining how to think of Mexica (Aztec) gender difference during the same period the Inkas were in power, Elizabeth M. Brumfiel asks relevant questions of the Mesoamerican context that are also applicable to the Andean one. She notes that scholars have disputed the extent to which gender roles among the Mexica/Aztecs were rooted in a complementarity or gender parallelism or whether there was a clear ideology of male dominance despite women's critical social roles such as their labor in spinning fiber, weaving, and sexual reproduction.[290] In analysis of the Andean and Mesoamerican contexts, she notes that several scholars argue that rulership will typically aim to control women as "both a metaphor and a mechanism for the state's control over kinship."[291] However, an ideology of male dominance as a "mechanism of state dominance" can only go so far, in that in the same contexts (Mesoamerica and the Andes) there will be a reciprocal back and forth between domination and resistance.[292]

[290] Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, "Figurines and the Aztec State: Testing the Effectiveneess of Ideological Domination," in *Gender and Archaeology,* ed. Rita P. Wright (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 145.
[291] Ibid., 146.
[292] Ibid.

Nonetheless, while women of the Andean nobility could have been granted certain equality in terms of inheritance and status, this was not necessarily how things worked at other levels of the social landscape.[293] As the Inka empire grew, women from subject territories became emblems of the resources the state could obtain from subordinate communities and women also became critical laborers within the state's redistribution network, most pronouncedly through textile production. Reflecting on women's textiles and women's roles in textile production further develops this dissertation's inquiry into Inka notions of space and territory and border.

Akllas and the Language of Conquest; Women's Roles in Territorial Claim

As it expanded from its heartland in Cusco, the Inka empire stretched as far as the northern edges of today's Ecuador and down towards what is today central Chile, an expanse of nearly 4,500 miles. Driving this territorial expansion was the need for resources that would fuel the state's administrative arms and the reciprocal relationships with the state's tributary subjects. An additional imperative for growth was the split inheritance structure in Inka dynastic succession wherein a ruler was only able to claim property through conquest rather than through inheritance; a deceased ruler's successor had the right to govern and conquer in the name of the state but did not have claim to the deceased's personal possessions— such as

[293] Silverblatt, 46: "The Inca restructuring of genealogical history was a model of social hierarchy that neatly legitimized class relations. It also hid them. The rights and power of chiefs vis-à-vis their *ayllus* in no way matched the Incas' control over conquered peoples (chiefs included). Expressing politics in terms of sacred genealogies masked inequities of power and economic exploitation."

buildings, servants, and lands. Rather, territorial acquisition became necessary for each new *Sapa* Inka to establish power and garner resources, which came through the labor tribute expected from a newly subjugated community. The Inkas would appropriate lands from conquered regions and these would be managed and worked to produce goods for the ruler or for the interests of the state religion (in its main dedication to the Sun) and, within the idealized construct of reciprocity, the state would give back to these tributaries. One of the main forms of labor tribute to the Inka state (or state extraction of labor) was the production of textiles. These would go into the Inka storehouses (*qullqas*) distributed throughout the empire, to recirculate and reaffirm reciprocal relationships between the Inkas and others, within ever narrower circles of influence and allegiance. As Brooke Larson states, however, this "ideology of reciprocity often masked relations of political domination and surplus extraction."[294]

Communities under Inka domain had to provide the state with a certain quota of textiles (among other material goods) that would circulate within the state's redistributive networks. Men and women within family units could perform this labor, helping to fill Inka *qullqas*/storehouses with basic clothing sets that could be redistributed across Inka networks. However, for the most elite types of textiles called *qumpi* that circulated at the level of, or within the tight circles of, the noble class or

[294] Brooke Larson, "Along the Inca Frontier," in *Cochabamba 1550-1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998), 24.

the other allied privileged classes, there were two specialist types of weavers. One was that of the *qumpicamayuqs*, who were male weavers and possibly itinerant laborers or *mitimae* (relocated) laborers, and the other belonged to the category of the *akllakuna*, who were virgin maidens cloistered at state administrative or religious sites and tasked with producing different materials and goods that would keep the state's redistribution networks flowing.[295] According to the Indigenous chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, the *akllakuna* responsible for weaving the fine *qumpi* garments were recognized within different age groups: for example, some were meant to spin and weave for the *wak'as* (the class of religious entity or materialized spirit), others were meant to weave specific types of garments, and others were meant to produce articles particularly for the noble Inkas.[296]

Akllakuna (or *akllas,* as I will reference them going forward) were "chosen women," sometimes of the noble Inka class but largely, it seems, women taken from newly

[295] See Arnold, *El Textil y la Documentación del Tributo,* 221-22. Arnold refers to a chronicler named Espinoza Soriano's 1583 account of production (including weaving) carried out in Millerea (Milluraya, Milliraya), north of Lake Titicaca, in the early colonial period, "*Los caciques e indios de Millerea sobre querer se reduzgan al pueblo de Guancane*." The account tells of how production was administered at this site and refers to the "tejedores" (male weavers) of the elite *qumpi* textile cloth. These weavers were *mitimaes* who had been relocated to this area by the Inka state under Wayna Qapaq from regions further south in Omasuyus, ethnic groups from the Colla/Qolla kingdoms. Karen B. Graubart, "Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor in Early Colonial Peru," *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No.4 (Autumn, 2000) 543-44, also refers to *qumpicamayuqs* as male weavers as recounted in Cobo and Cieza de León's writings, noting the distinctions the early colonial chroniclers seem to make in their accounts of weaving as labor when attributed to women (as in the form of the *akllas*) and men (in the form of *qumpicamayuqs*), perceiving the former in terms of women's "domestic" labor (or labor naturalized as such) versus the latter's more "elevated" or "artisan" labor.

[296] Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615, in the Guaman Poma Website: A Digital Research Center of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark, http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/301/en/text/?open=idm46287306191616 (accessed August 2021) folio 299 [301].

conquered territories who were relocated and sequestered to administrative centers throughout the empire. According to one Spanish chronicler, the priest Bernabé Cobo, who wrote his description based on the *relaciones* or accounts by earlier chroniclers, such as Pedro Pizarro (1571) and Polo de Ondegardo (1559), the *akllas* were taken from their home communities at a fairly young age to be trained by another class of women laborers, the *mamaconas*, who were virgin maidens conscripted to serve the state's religion, dedicated as "wives" to the Sun or to the service of other divine entities.[297] The *akllas* were often the preferred daughters of provincial lords who were taken by the Inkas in exchange for patronage and protection and the state deployed them across its territory to perform certain labor.[298] The typical labors the *akllas* performed were weaving, ceramic production, as well as fermentation of *chicha* (maize beer) for use in state-sponsored festivities and ceremonies and other ritualized exchanges. Guaman Poma portrays *aklla* weavers in his manuscript, representing them as a sea of young women dropping their spindles to ply fiber (Fig. 28). *Akllas* such as these carried out their labor for the state at various outpost communities and often towards the peripheries of Inka territory.

[297] Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, xvii; 172-173.
[298] Ibid., 172. Cobo states that the *mamacona* and the *akllas* were girls "gathered as tribute throughout the entire kingdom, and care was taken to select from these girls the most noble and beautiful for this profession." The mestizo author Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales I*, (Barcelona: Red Ediciones, 2014), 209, states the virgins who lived in the *akllawasi* (house of the *akllas*) in Cusco's center were dedicated to the Sun and as such had to be of specifically Inka noble blood: "…de su misma sangre, quiero decir, hijas de los Incas, así del rey como de sus deudos, los legítimos y limpios de sangre ajena; porque de las mezcladas con sangre ajena, que llamamos bastardas no podían entrar en esta casa del Cuzco…" The *akllas* who served secular purposes would not have had to have the same Inka lineage.

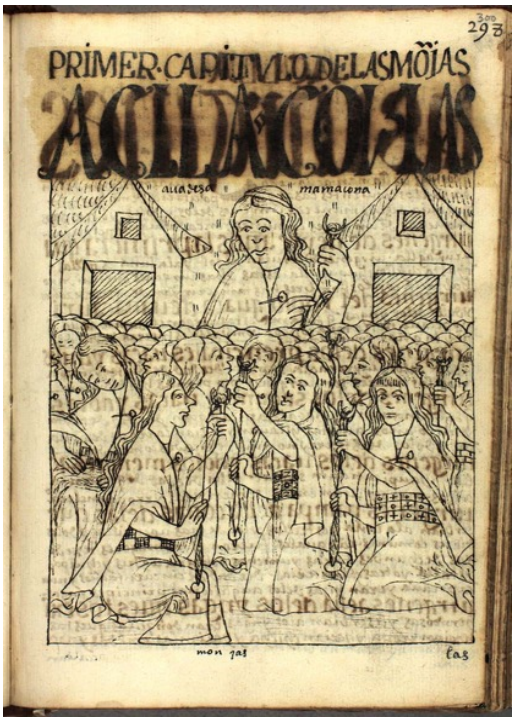

Fig. 28. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. PRIMER CAPÍTVLO DE LAS MONJAS, *ACLLACONA*S [*las escogidas*] folio 298 [300] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/300/en/text/?open=idm46287306191616.

Referencing Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Anne Tiballi writes that the Inkas often demanded the extraction of human tribute (for labor) —e.g. in the form of *akllas, mamaconas*, and also a class of servant labor called *yanacona*—from newly conquered territories.[299] In this drawing, the *akllas* are not seen as individual identities but instead form a mass body that seems to become another ground plane, visualizing the way these women lay the groundwork for how the Inkas will cement their power. Above the *akllas* stands the woman supervisor, the *mamacona*, who may also here help visualize the Inka state as overseer of all these women, embodiments of territories conquered. Apart from the *mamacona*, the other figures who exhibit some

[299] Tiballi, 47.

kind of individual identity are the four *akllas,* whose wide textile belts, called *chumpi/chumbi,* distinguish them from the rest of the crowd. Two of the *chumpis'* motif types seem recognizable in terms of the standard set noted by John Rowe. Although Rowe examined the motifs called *tuqapus* on men's garments (discussed in chapter 2), and Guaman Poma's insertion here of the same *tuqapus* on women's garments is of dubious historical accuracy (since we do not find pre-contact women's garments with *tuqapu*-style motifs in the archaeological record), it is possible that Guaman Poma is correctly engaging whatever messages were encoded in the *tuqapus*. The two motif types recognizable in his drawing are the checkerboard *tuqapu* and the Inka "key" *tuqapu* seen in a closeup of the figures at center and left of center (from the viewer's perspective) (Fig. 29).

Fig. 29. (Detail) Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. PRIMER CAPÍTVLO DE LAS MONJAS, *ACLLACONA*S [*las escogidas*] folio 298 [300] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/300/en/text/?open=idm46287306191616

As noted in chapter 2, these motif types have both been associated with the Inka military and Inka administration but here, as seen on the bodies of these young maidens taken from conquered territories to serve the Inka in tribute labor, perhaps

we are seeing a reference to state conquest as "done deal." Conscripted to serve the state in ways that essentially made visible Inka control over outside communities and their resources, *akllas* were an expression of the Inka body politic. As producers of state-regulated ceramics and textiles, the *akllas* employed the visual language of the state to reinforce its culture, politico-religious ideology, and social structure, but they *themselves* also became part of this visual language.

Referring back to the discussion of these motifs in chapter 2, the *qullqapata*/ checkerboard pattern seen in the *aklla* at left's *chumpi*/ belt would be symbolic of the empire's border areas, where Inka *qullqas*/storehouses and *patas*/terraces marked the edges of territory as acute points or transformative zones of Inka presence and engagement with the "other." Likewise, on the *aklla* shown kneeling at center, the design in the form of a letter "Z" that alternates with a circular motif may be the visual shorthand of the "Inka key" pattern—which in chapter 2 was also noted as associable with the state's imperial agenda (Fig. 30).[300] Perhaps what is being expressed is that the woman's body, like the motif itself, mediates between two ends or entities—it is through her that the Inka state visualizes claim over the subject territory. The diagonal form seen in the motif transmits that energy of crossing spaces or linking two extremities through dynamic interaction.

[300] Regarding the way Guaman Poma renders *tuqapu* motifs, particularly in relation to properties of symmetry and rotation, and touching on this motif as well, see Mary Frame, "What Guaman Poma Shows Us, But Doesn't Tell Us, about Tukapu," 33-36.

Fig. 30. (Detail) Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615. PRIMER CAPÍTVLO DE LAS MONJAS, *ACLLACONA*S [*las escogidas*] folio 298 [300] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/300/en/text/?open=idm46287306191616

To expand on how these women's *chumpis* may encode something regarding an Inka territoriality, we can think about a *chumpi's* function. It is something that binds the fabric to the body at the waist, the center of gravity. C*humpis* were an important element of the wardrobe associated with women who operated within circuits of the Inka state and the specificity in motifs seen on women's *chumpis* may be a direct counterpart to the waistband motifs seen in certain elite male *unku*/tunic types. As Elena Phipps notes, the particular "treatment of the neck yoke, waistband, and body" of an *unku* determined if it fit the "standard" type.[301] Of the four standardized elite male *unku* types noted in chapter 2, there were two— the "diamond waistband" and the "*tuqapu* waistband"—with compositions that highlighted the man's waist area. In other words, in both women's wear and men's wear of an elite Inka clothing type, we see a shared attention to the waist as one of the important compositional areas (Fig.

[301] Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," 20; Interestingly, Joanne Pillsbury notes that the "*tuqapu* waistband" *unku* type is the predominant *unku* type that holds over into the colonial period, the "Inka key" and "diamond waistband" types are not found in any known colonial-era Inka *unkus*. See Pillsbury, "Inka Uncu Strategy and Design," 83.

31). The women's *chumpis* in Guaman Poma's drawing seem to evoke that essential type— "*tuqapu* waistband" type —but now on the woman's body.

Fig. 31. "Mango Capac, Primero Ynga." [The first Inka ruler, Manco Qhapaq.] *Historia General del Piru*, 1616, de Fray Martín de Murúa (Getty Murúa).

Quyas and the Language of Conquest; Women's Roles in Territorial Claim

The *chumpi* belt or sash form was a key part of the pre-contact Inka woman's wardrobe alongside the *aksu* (gown), the *lliklla* (mantle), and the *ñañaka* (head covering). The *lliklla* corresponds to the textile form that women used as a shoulder covering; it is a rectangular mantle and with a tripartite design that consists of three large fields or areas, called *pampas*, with narrower bands of patterning, called *pallay*, located at intervals and seen horizontally as worn on the body (although decorative bands are typically not very abundant in the very elite pre-contact type).[302]

[302] Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 21. Phipps discusses *aksus* (*acsus*) here further.

All these garments would have been of equally fine thread quality and detail. And although the *chumpi* is a smaller form than, say, the *lliklla* and the *aksu*, as a format for encoding or for transmitting something about an Inka ideology of order (and, I suggest, border) it would have been as effective as the larger garments. In an essay on technical aspects of standard Inka *unkus*, Ann P. Rowe mentions examples of *unkus* of the diamond waistband pattern type where the waistband was woven separately from the rest of the fabric web and attached with stitching. The various examples of these, she notes, were likely created in pre-contact contexts. This is noteworthy as it suggests that the waist area was something that could be treated independently or as an independent structure and perhaps an independent signifier and may elucidate what a woman's *chumpis* could signify.[303]

In an impressive study that involved both scholarship and technical practice, Sophie Desrosiers decoded a pattern for a pre-contact elite Andean *chumpi* that was documented in a sixteenth-century manuscript commissioned by the Mercedarian friar Martin de Murúa, titled *History and Origins of the Inka Kings*.[304] In his text, compiled with the aid of Native informants and illustrators, Murúa documented the weaving structure of a renowned *chumpi* type worn by Inka *quyas,* or elite women, during festivities in honor of maize cultivation. Desrosiers attempted weaving it according to the instructions and ultimately replicated the pre-contact textile. Her

[303] See Rowe, "Technical Features of Inca Tapestry Tunics," 12-13.
[304] (Murúa commissioned the two manuscripts, *History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inka Kings of Peru,* in 1590, and *History of Peru*, in 1616).

replica was significantly similar to a fifteenth-century CE Inka example held in the American Museum of Natural History, acquired in the nineteenth century by the archaeologist Adolph Bandelier (Fig. 32).

Fig. 32. Inka *chumpi*/belt, 1450-1532. Camelid fiber, double-face complementary warp pattern with diamond motif, 131 L x 1.5 W in. American Museum of Natural History B/4642

We can see in this AMNH example that the *chumpi* of this design type shows a sequence of diamond patterns in alternating colors that zigzag their way across the fabric. According to the Murúa text's sixteenth-century explanation, the *chumpis* were called *sara chumpis*, or corn/maize belts, and were meant to be worn at the festival that celebrated the sowing of maize, when Inka men would ceremoniously break the earth with their foot plows (called *takllas* but also referenced by their curved form, or *kutij,* with its implication of "return" or "turnover") and women would correspondingly plant the seeds. In a comparative analysis based on her ethnographic work, Meisch suggests the *chumpi* type's diamond pattern invokes agricultural practices based on her discussions with women weavers in contemporary

Peru who produced *chumpis* with patterning very similar to the type Desrosiers re-created (and, likewise, similar to the example seen in Figure 32). She learned that today's weavers see the diamond/rhomboid pattern as representative of the maize seed itself, while the individual triangle components within the diamonds suggest whole maize cobs of different colors.[305] (In a forthcoming study very much complementary to the discussion here, Bat-Ami Artzi analyzes a range of geometric motifs found on Inka ceramic vessels that comprise what she denotes as a "holistic visual system," and focuses on motifs that bring forward references to maize, maize cultivation, maize storage.)[306] In Meisch's analysis, furthermore, the zigzag lines that outline the diamond/rhomboid forms have been called *q'inqu mayu* (zigzag river), which she offers as references to the waterways or canals used to irrigate corn fields. Meisch also calls attention to the quadripartite division of the diamond/rhomboids as reflective of the Inka state's quadripartition as *Tawantinsuyu,* their name for their empire which means, roughly, "four-as-one." (Here it is worth noting that it is not uncommon for contemporary weavers to still make reference to *Tawantinsuyu* or to aspects of Inka power in their weavings today.)

---

[305] Meisch, 385.

[306] While Meisch refers to ethnographic accounts to discuss use and interpretation of rhomboid motifs as equated with seeds, Artzi tracks a slightly different interpretation of the same motif type through the archaeological record. Bat-Ami Artzi has written several essays regarding Inka ceramic vessels and their iconographic programs, offering interpretations that engage gender and power relations through design and representational formats in pre-contact and post-contact Andean visual culture. I thank her for letting me read a couple of her essays prior to their forthcoming publication (upcoming in 2022 and 2023) and refer the reader to an already published essay, "...y son indios por conquistar": las alegorías femeninas de los cuatro suyus en el testimonio etnohistórico y arqueológico," *Revista Andina* (2015): 301-340. In one of her yet unpublished essays, Artzi offers very helpful context regarding the value of maize within Inka imperial culture and presents a careful and comprehensive analysis of certain motifs within Inka visual culture and how they can be analyzed more systematically.

The contrast brought forward through coloring in the *chumpi*/belt's patterning is also worth noting. Here the purple and yellow combination would resonate within an Inka symbolic system that valued contrasts of light and dark. Bi-chromatic expressions like this are seen in other forms or materials that held great value for the Inka. Barraza Lescano notes that contrasting colors carry propitious and apotropaic value in Andean culture, articulated in the Andean concept of "*missa,*" which, significantly, has long-held association with maize cultivation.[307] "*Missa çara*" referred to a special category of maize that was bi-chromatic (often contrasts of white and red), which would be used specifically to produce *chicha* made for honoring deities as well as for serving ritual purposes associated with warfare, and as such was symbolic of protection as well as general prosperity, fecundity.[308] Significant in this contextualization, and in the contemporary descriptions Meisch collected, is how motifs and design aspects are ways through which women *wear* productive/reproductive processes, linking their bodies to the value of land and generative cycles, speaking thus, bodily, to the question of land use, bringing forward claim to bodies in equation with claim to land.

This original *chumpi* type (documented by Murúa, evidenced in the example at the AMNH, re-created by Desrosiers, and still current among women in Peruvian communities today) was in its original context presumably worn by the Inka *quya*, or

[307] Sergio Alfredo Barraza Lescano, *Acllas y Personajes Emplumados en la Iconografía Alfarera Inca: Una Aproximación a la Ritualidad Prehispánica Andina,* Master's thesis, colección del Magíster en Arqueología con mención en Estudios Andinos, Escuela de Posgrado (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2012), 123.
[308] Ibid., 124-28.

at least a very elite Inka woman, during the corn festivities and shows us one way textiles reinforced or emblematized Inka women's roles in relation to the landscape and the Andean productive space. Maria Rostworowski notes that while men typically were responsible for breaking the ground in preparation for sowing, women were involved in working the clumps of earth and depositing seeds or tubers in a field's allotted grooves.[309] In the case of the *quya's chumpi*, we would note a particular power element because a *quya*, or queen, controlled the means of production to an extent. In this case if a *quya* wore this type of *chumpi* with its diamond motifs—symbolic of maize—she was embodying the power over production that was the Inka nobility's claim. It is known from colonial accounts that Inka *quyas* were able to possess their own lands, after all. *Quyas* had jurisdiction separate from the Inka ruler and could pass on to their descendants claims to land.[310] To an extent, this *chumpi* of the suggested maize seed motifs expressed that kind of claim and dominion over land.

Maize was a critical crop for the Inkas and was absorbed into a gendered system wherein it was the labor of women to produce the fermented maize beer, called *chicha*, that was a key tool of empire. As noted above, the *chicha* beverage was one of the goods that *akllas* produced at state administrative sites, which often were situated along the borders of newly acquired territories. Somewhat similarly to textiles, which circulated within more elevated circles of power and influence, *chicha*

[309] Maria Rostworowski, "Ła Mujer en Epoca Prehispánica," *Documento de Trabajo, Serie Etnohistoria No. 1, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos,* (Junio 1998): 9.
[310] Ibid., 12.

was a more common means of cementing relationships, for example as between the Inka state and its subject territories. *Chicha* fueled the state's festivities regularly held to showcase its wealth and hospitality towards subject groups. Through the *quyas* who participated in the *sara*/maize festivities by planting seeds and through the young *akllas* who processed/fermented maize to make the maize beer—as well as through the *chumpis* that have been associated with them— we have examples of women's bodies being symbolically tied to natural and state-determined cycles of production that also bridged notions of land use and land claim.

The *akllas* spinning fiber in Guaman Poma's drawing carried different messages on their bodies (and on their *chumpis*) from the *quya* who would have worn the diamond/zigzag patterned *chumpi.* The *akllas* were border figures themselves in that they embodied Inka access to and claim over areas at the periphery and when they were brought to Inka weaving sites, it was they/their bodies that brought the periphery physically into a discourse with the center. Their bodies were the trophies taken and repurposed to serve the state and made to contribute to the state's redistribution circuits that maintained its relationship with subject territories. The relationships of redistribution and reciprocity that bound subject communities to the Inka state undergirded the way that these *akllas* were understood in relation to the state. The women's bodies became emblems of *a kind of* conquest accomplished through relational practices where they, as much as the territory's they came from, came into a subordinate role within a reciprocal relational framework. While the relationship

being navigated was that of the state to the peripheral "other," the ideological framework acknowledged the "other" as complementary (although deferential) to the Inkas rather than as an excluded "other." As such, the garments the foreign-born *akllas* wore may have reinforced ideas about relational, volatile border areas as areas of productivity. The patterns on their *chumpis* that reference Inka military garb help visualize an Inka ideology of territoriality and of borders marked by volatility of exchange that was generative despite the hazards it may have been born within.

If these women wearing *chumpis* that refer to conquest are expressing how subject territories and subject labor can be understood within a relational framework, we can see similar power relations in other visual formats. Thomas Cummins writes about other expressions in Inka visual culture that also reflect Inka notions of relationality within a power dynamic, such as the concentric rectangle motif. This motif of rectangles nested within other rectangles is seen often on Inka *qirus/ keros*, which are traditional pre-contact types of ceremonial drinking vessels that were often used to assert relationships between parties wherein a complementary balance of opposing interests might be at play and where difference in hierarchy is mediated by some underlying sympathies or similarities: "The center rectangle is the discrete entity, bounded by an ever increasing field of an encompassing unity, moving from the center to finally become an entire field of bounded forms. The image is based on a file of expanding relations that are at once like and unlike. The shape is the same, but

the dimensions are different. Hierarchy and equality exist simultaneously."[311] Cummins considers the relational within a notion of how the Inka state integrates the "other" within its body; the slightly different emphasis I am making is that the Inkas applied an idea of relationality at the border spaces as well, where its attention was less on "nesting" the outsider to the insider's logic as much as embracing—in the manner of the zigzag—the inherent productivity that comes from volatility and energetic tension of differences meeting at the edge. It is a difference in degrees of tension.

The Volatility of Meaning in Textile Motifs

Another *chumpi*/belt type to take note of and that seems to be associated both with Inka *quyas* and to those *akllas* who were "married" to the Inka state's religious arm is seen in this painted illustration (Fig. 33). At the figure's waist may be a variation of the *sara* (maize) *chumpi* noted above. The figure represented is the first Inka *quya*/queen, named Mama Huaco, who is shown wearing a plain blue woven *lliklla* (mantle) and a pink *aksu* (gown) wrapped with a *chumpi* of yellow foundation with a red zigzag plus round shape design.

[311] Thomas B.F. Cummins, "Conquest and Gifts," in *Toasts with the Incas* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 93.

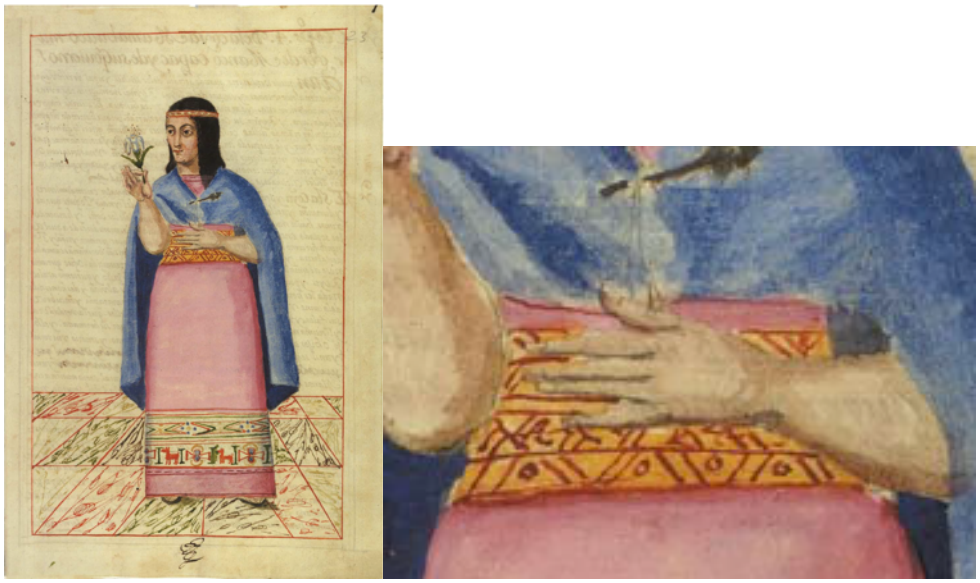

Fig. 33. Mama Huaco, *Historia General del Piru*, 1616, de Fray Martín de Murúa (Getty Murúa).

This image appears in the same late sixteenth-century Murúa text mentioned above that offered the weaving instructions for the *sara*/maize *chumpi.* The pattern is familiar within the repertoire of Inka motifs. The specific pattern and the yellow-red color combination registers an affinity between the illustrated *chumpi* seen on the *quya*, and a particular type of elite Inka *lliklla*/mantle that circulated as part of the attire of girls and women associated with Inka religious and ritual ceremonial practices in the pre-contact period (Fig. 34).

Fig. 34. Inka, young girl's *lliklla*/mantle, 15th—early 16th century. Tapestry weave cotton warp and camelid weft, ~ 24 x 27 1/2 inches (folded) 43 3/4 x 27 1/2 inches woven, Cotsen Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Cotsen.

This textile (as we see in its detail) has the same zigzag pattern with round details on either side that is suggested in the Murúa illustration of Mama Huaco. The zigzag pattern runs across the *lliklla* in two narrow, parallel registers within larger textile fields, called *pampas* (the *lliklla* as worn would likely be folded over for extra warmth). Analyses of this expression of the zigzag pattern have discussed it in various ways. One suggestion would correlate this zigzag (and diamond patterns formed by two zigzags) with that which is gleaned in the *sara chumpi* pattern replicated by Desrosiers that may be an expression of maize seeds; this interpretation has also been suggested for the round forms seen interspersed along the zigzag in the *lliklla* here—that is, that the round forms are maize seeds.[312]

[312] Femenías, 345; Femenías suggests the rectangular "dots" seen in this *lliklla* type are references to corn kernels, echoing the notion behind the diamond/rhomboid patterns in the *sara chumpi* mentioned here. See Fig. 35 for the visual comparison.

Here it is worth expanding a little on the *lliklla* form in general. The Andean woman's *lliklla* has scarcely undergone change over centuries even while, within the constraints of its type, it showcases internal ingenuity and responsiveness to outside influences. Technical flourishes of extreme subtlety highlight a weaver's skill and their attention to sometimes changing contexts. As in the past, in many communities today the *lliklla* carries in its colors, designs, and technical details a woman's association with the space she inhabits and can illuminate her interconnected spheres of relation. A completed woven *lliklla* displays a tripartite design of alternating *pampa* and *pallay* areas, with the *pallay* area often expressing forms relevant to growth cycles and natural phenomena. The word *pallay* derives from the Quechua verb *pallaniy* which, according to the earliest Quechua language dictionaries, such as Holguín's early seventeenth century *Vocabulario*, means to "harvest" or to raise from the ground.[313] Thus Andean women's textiles (e.g. *llikllas*) that carry this design retain and enact processes of cultivation. Various *pallay* may reference, for example, harvested crops or things that "sprout" in their physical growth or, alternately, may reference symbols or meanings related to the weaver's own growth cycle—in their studies of Chinchero weavings during the late twentieth century, Franquemont and

[313] See Domingo de Santo Tomas's 1560 *Lexicon, o Vocabulario de la Lengua General del Peru* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdova, 1560), 159: *pallani* = coger; *pampa* = hera donde trillan; *pampa* = plaça, lugar donde no ay casas; *pampa* = campo raso, como vega; *pampa o cuzca* = cosa llana generalmente. Access at: John Carter Brown Library, http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/exhibitions/ildb/details.php?id=21 See also Holguin's *Vocabulario,* 273: *pallani* = coger del suelo, o de árbol o la cosecha, o mies; *pallani* = coger a mano cualquiera cosa; *pampa* = plaça, suelo llano o llanada pasto, çauana, o campo; *pampa* = cosa común y universal.

Isbell note that *pallay* areas, as well as *listas*, or stripes, reflected episodes in a young woman's life.[314]

The highland *lliklla's* basic spatial layout is familiar throughout different communities. What does vary, however, are aspects such as weaving structure or the preferred motifs, or favored colors and other finishings, from one group to the next. If we compare the Inka *sara chumpi* type that resurfaces in Desrosiers's study with the Inka *aklla's lliklla* we can note how the designs deviate from one another yet may conceptually be similar—i.e. conveying the idea of *sara*/maize in close association with the woman's body, as motifs worn by her (Fig. 35).

Fig. 35. Comparison of the *saramama* type of *chumpi* and its diamond/zigzag pattern, with the Inka *lliklla* zigzag pattern.

In turn, there are also many examples wherein design or motif areas may be quite similar but the concepts behind them are registered as quite different. Another suggestion about the Inka *lliklla's* zigzag pattern is that it is a version of the

314. Billie Jean Isbell, Christine Franquemont, and Edward Franquemont, "Awaq Ñawin: el ojo del tejedor, la practica de la cultura en el tejido," *Revista Andina*, 10, no. 1 (Julio 1992): 71.

bicephalous snake pattern that is ubiquitous in Andean textiles over millennia, known as the *amaru* (which will be further discussed in chapter 4). As a bicephalous snake, the motif would bring attention to valued Andean qualities of duality and of transformation of balance and return, which have long held value in the region.

Yet another suggestion is that the motif is a 2-D visualization of the garment's underlying weaving structure.[315] Andeanist William J. Conklin analyzes the pattern as an aggrandizement of the textile's weaving structure, pointing to many examples over hundreds of years of highland Andean visual culture that depict this motif with different degrees of stylization. He suggests that it is likely a reference to weaving technology, with the zigzag design representing the cross-section view of the over-and-under movement of threads in the weaving process (Fig. 36).[316]

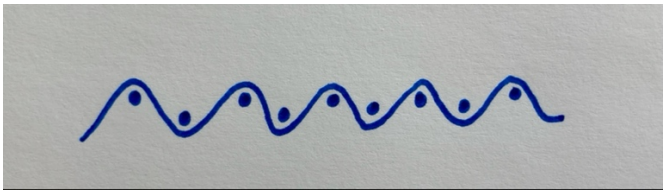

Fig. 36. Author's schematic rendering of the over-under movement of wefts over warp threads or vice versa, after Conklin's rendering.

Particularly, Conklin links it to the weaving process associated with highland cultures, that of interlocking tapestry, commenting that "a map of the Andean

[315] See, for example, William J. Conklin, "Structure as Meaning in Andean Textiles," *Chúngara: Revista de Antropología Chilena*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (enero/junio) 109-131; Mary Frame, Las Imágenes Visuales de Estructuras Textiles en el Arte del Antiguo Perú," *Revista Andina: Estudios y Debates*, Año 12, No.2 (diciembre, 1994) 295-372; Rodman and Cassman, "Andean Tapestry: Structure Informs the Surface," 33-39.
[316] Conklin, "Structure as Meaning in Andean Textiles," 122-26.

highland cultures that made use of the interlocking tapestry would look very much like a map showing the cultures that used the over-and-under symbolic motif."[317]

This "highland" vocabulary, long part of Andean visual culture, shows up not only in textiles but in ceremonial drinking cups, ceramic vessels, and stone carvings as well as in textiles that actually are not composed through weaving but through other structural practices. For example, an early Paracas culture textile references this "over-under" motif at the sides of the composition but the fabric's structure is not created through (over-under) weaving and is instead a *knit* structure, which consists of using needles to interlink or knot loops with one continuous yarn acting upon itself (Fig. 37).

Fig. 37. Paracas-Ocucaje *unku*/tunic, c. 4th century CE. Wool loop knit, 28 x 24 in., Paul Hughes Collection, The Whitworth Museum, Manchester, UK (image in the public domain) (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ocucaje-Shirt_Paul-Hughes-Collection.jpg)

[317] Ibid., 129. Conklin states that the design motif does not appear in the coastal regions. Although it does not do so explicitly perhaps, the undulating form that can be likened to a serpentine form as well *does* appear and the question becomes whether we can allow a sympathy across conceptual planes even if perceptual likeness is less definitive.

This suggests that the over-under motif, though rooted in the weaving language, or weaving structure as visual rhetoric—exceeds its "boundaries," going beyond simply a reference to technique and speaking to larger cultural world view. The over-under or zigzag motif seen here thus would no longer be referencing the underlying structure but rather something else, implicated by the same movement/gesture, or tangential to what the over-under structure of weaving conveys regarding oppositional but balancing parts that repeat until a useful/integral whole comes into being.

Ultimately, the over-under structural allusion (zigzag) celebrates the same values as the bicephalous snake idea. An over-under repetition of weft over warp exemplifies the duality that lies in the serpent form as well as in the serpent's symbolism as a being/entity that threads its way between realms and brings forward possibilities of dynamic transformation. Movement is implied in the up and down gesture—furthermore, something acute or sharp is expressed, too, in the pointed alternating triangles of the zigzag form on the woman's *chumpi*. In discussing the properties of patterns on visual culture objects, Alfred Gell remarks that when we perceive animation in patterns it is because we project how we perceive *onto* the patterns; that is, *our perceptions* are the source of animation.[318] This is one way to think about the zigzag patterning we see on so many objects in Andean visual culture, i.e. as having

[318] Gell, 78.

"movements [that] stem ultimately from the real movements of our bodies and perceptual organs, scanning the environment."[319]

In the Inka visual code this particular zigzag motif type and its over-under implications appears as a marked element in numerous cases. It appears in women's garments and, in a slightly different expression, it seems to come through in the Inka "key" motif. This motif was discussed within the standardized types of Inka male *unkus*/tunics (chapter 2). We see the zigzag as an elaboration of the "Inka key" when the motif is doubled and reflected such that the diagonals set against one another form a triangle (that, as it repeats, forms a zigzag). As noted earlier, the "Inka key" motif has been associated with Inka administrative or military functions—i.e. those forces within the state that constantly interacted at the border spaces— which contributes to an interpretation that the motif can come to express movement and oppositional relations or tension between positive and negative spaces such as are the edge spaces of territory that mediate between "exterior" and "interior."

Also interesting to note in association with the suggestion here that zigzag motifs help visualize an Inka rhetoric of volatile borders and the productive energy therein, is the case of another possible "standard" Inka *unku* type that John Rowe comments on. Although not enough examples exist to say that it was a regularized type, he sourced two pre-contact Inka *unkus* that showcase a large zigzag pattern composed of

[319] Ibid.

triangular stepped lines at the waistband. One of them is held at the Brooklyn Museum of Art and has a fringe collar element that likely was added in a colonial context (Fig. 38).

Fig. 38. Inca *unku*/ tunic; c.1400-1532. Camelid fiber, vicuña fringe, 35 7/16 x 31 1/8 in. (90 x 79 cm), Brooklyn Museum (Museum Expedition 1941) (image in the public domain)

Although the provenance of this *unku* is unclear, Rowe states that the other *unku* of the same type—with zigzag motif at the waistband—was found at a high altitude burial, apparently deposited alone as a single offering at the top of Nevado de los Tambillos at 5,800 meters in elevation.[320] It has similar design to this Brooklyn Museum *unku*, except the zigzag is composed of a single row of small stepped squares instead of the 5 rows seen here, and transmits that idea of dynamic tension or volatility felt through the zigzag motion. The fact that it was buried on a mountain peak as a single offering can very much be contextualized within a visual and ideological rhetoric of borders since within a broader Andean cosmology and sacred

[320] Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," 257.

geography mountain lords (*apus*) were seen as territorial guardians. To deposit a fabric such as this one at the top of a mountain suggests that ideas of border are being flexed here. Where a wall might serve a purpose of closing off one area from another, creating separations at the border, textiles with zigzag patterning on mountaintops instead stress the idea that the border area is one of various and varied inflection points that reflect a relational understanding wherein tension between opposing parts is not shied away from.

The Broader State of Things: Zigzag Motifs in the Woman's *Lliklla*, or Mantle

We can continue an analysis of the *lliklla* in Fig. 34 to further sort through how women's textiles were implicated in an ideology of border as relational space or that carried the notion that volatility at the border was part of a productive tension that the state could espouse (quite literally, if we think about the *akllas* as "wives" of the state). This *lliklla* type and other women's garments with a similar over-under zigzag pattern were worn by girls and women in ritual or state functions, and they are relatively abundant in the archaeological record.[321] It is recognizable as an "elite" item through surface as well as underlying, structural aspects: it has a very fine thread count; it displays a limited color palette within the range typically preferred by the Inka state, here an arrangement of red, yellow ochre, along with smaller areas of black; it has embroidered edge bindings in striped arrangements of those same colors,

[321] Femenías, 344.

with the addition of green; and it has a *pallay,* or motif, area that showcases the noted zigzag pattern.

The *lliklla* is of a fairly small scale, 43 3/4 x 27 1/2 inches as woven and then 24 x 27 1/2 inches when folded, as worn, and so likely belonged to a young girl.[322] According to Phipps, its coloring—yellow, red, black (or dark purple)— suggests it was associated with a class of *aklla*, called *wayruru*, who she states were those chosen for service to the Inka king in particular.[323] This *lliklla* is of unknown provenance but many of the same type have been found in more carefully recorded contexts, such as at Pachacamac. The temple at Pachacamac, located in the Lurin Valley, south of present-day Lima, was a site of worship for a creator deity that pre-dated the Inka religious system but was absorbed into an Inka pantheon. At Pachacamac the Inkas housed the young "chosen" *akllas* dedicated to religious worship of the Sun, who also were weavers. German archaeologist Max Uhle excavated the cemetery at Pachacamac at the turn of the twentieth century and uncovered the remains of many

[322] Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830,* edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, Cristina Esteras Martin, Luisa Elena Alcalá (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) [catalogue entry] 132-33.

[323] Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala writes about two types of "*wayruru*" *akllas*: Uírgenes de ueynte años, la primera *guayrur aglla* [escogida principal] a, uírgenes que seruían al sol y a la luna, estrellas *Chasca Cuyllor* [Venus], *Chuqui Ylla* [¿Marte?]. Estas dichas uírgenes en su uida no hablaua con los hombres hasta murir. Y an de entrar de 20 años…and Uírgenes de los prencipales *uaca*s ýdulos que son de los *uayror aclla, sumac* ["la escogida del *wayruru* que es hermosa"], de edad de ueynte y cinco años, los quales son uírgenes perpetuas hasta murir." See Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615, folio 299 [301], in the Guaman Poma Website: A Digital Research Center of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark, http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm

akllas, who were found buried with elite textile garments that likely they themselves had woven.

One idea I put forward for interpreting the over-under zigzag pattern on this particular Inka *lliklla* is that when we combine that pattern detail with analysis of the *lliklla's* form we can further see how the textile becomes metonymic of landscape, and specifically of Inka land as territory. My suggestion is that the zigzag patterning seen in this elite *lliklla*— and in the afore-mentioned elite *chumpi* type that shares the motif, seen in the Murúa drawing— is also, in addition to any reference to maize cultivation, a reference to ideas of movement within territory. This interpretation should be read alongside the reading of the zigzag patterning seen on male *unku* textile forms discussed in chapter 2. In that chapter I suggest the (triangle-contoured) zigzag motif is a designate for ideas of "border" and relational threshold space that help define the state as dynamic, through notions of volatility. In the case of this *aklla's lliklla/*mantle and its attributes, I am equally noting that although the zigzag motif does not mark or run along the ends or edges of the garment—or, by implication, the limits of "territory"—a notion of "border" and the quality of movement/volatility in terms of border-as-threshold is still applicable. This is because, as border figures themselves, the *akllas* (young women—sometimes as young ten years) embodied or encoded the same message as the zigzag motif, with their bodies embodying borderland spaces. As their bodies were removed from their natal communities to serve the state and make visible Inka power at various inflection

points scattered throughout Inka territory, the *akllas* themselves embodied the same gesture that the zigzag motif articulated—an idea of relational exchange at the edges of the familiar, expressive of visible tensions between inside and outside elements, and performing labors that fueled or energized or animated the state.

There is also another possible reading into the *lliklla*, amplifying an interpretation that brings territoriality to bear on it. Unlike the Inka male tapestry *unkus* discussed in chapter 2, which showcase the interlocking weft-faced structure that was a hallmark of highland elite cultures that had great influence in the region before the rise of the Inkas, Inka women's garments were not always strictly tapestry (weft-faced) structures.[324] In many examples we can identify tapestry weave (in so far as the archaeological record reveals to us) but elite Inka women's wear is also found in complementary-*warp* weaves, wherein a warp-faced weave structure is constructed by the interlacing of the weft with pairs of warps of contrasting colors and where the warps dominate the matrix, hiding the weft threads.[325] (The complementary warps also bring up ideas of complementarity in the structural language, through the pairing

[324] With respect to the tradition of interlocking tapestry among highland cultures, see for example, Oakland Rodman and Cassman, 33-39."

[325] With regard to whether women's elite garments show tapestry or, alternately, warp-faced structures, scholars seem to suggest both were prominent: Elena Phipps, in T*he Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830,* 131, emphasizes that the Inkas "in most circumstances, preferred royal and ceremonial garments to be woven of tapestry weave…"; Blenda Femenías, "Structure, Design, and Gender in Inka Textiles," 344, writes about Inka women's dresses, stating "Inka dresses may be tapestry but are more likely complementary-weft or complementary-warp patterned…in combination with plain weave…"

of threads and through the outcome whereby the front and reverse sides have different, inverse, color displays.)

This particular *lliklla* is tapestry, or *weft*-facing, in its main web area, but in the pattern area— that is, the zigzag area— it has an added dimension, which is that the patterning is created with weft-*floats*.[326] Weft-float patterning involves creating designs by passing a weft thread over more than one warp thread, which creates texture and dimension to the fabric even though it does not equal the strength of the original structure. Although using weft-floats augments the texture of the fabric, it is suggested that it registered as the same quality or had "conceptual equivalence" to tapestry weaving for the Inkas.[327] What is interesting, though, is that weft-float, which creates this textural aspect, has a strong aesthetic sympathy to warp-faced patterning, which comes from a different weaving tradition. Warp-faced patterning is the oldest type of patterned weaving technique in the Andes.[328] In choosing something so resemblant to the warp-faced pattern technique, the weaver here seems to be aligning themselves with the very long technical lineage that hearkens to weaving cultures established further east of Cusco, in the high altitude plateau (the *altiplano*) that meets Lake Titicaca. That region is associated with the Aymara speaking peoples, for example the Lupaqa and the Qolla/Colla ethnicities, polities that were traditional

[326] Phipps, T*he Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830,* 132.
[327] Femenías, 344.
[328] Rowe, "Warp-patterned Weaves of the Andes," 72.

rivals of the Inkas but who the Inkas esteemed for their weaving knowledge (see note 290 above).

Different traditions of weaving in the Andes would have dictated whether an *aklla* weaver would have brought an expertise in warp- versus weft-faced structuring but there is also the oversight of the Inka state to take into account when thinking about why one structural type over another was preferred. As noted in chapter 2, the male *unkus*/tunics of the elite standardized type were made in interlocking tapestry technique, which linked them to the elite weaving practices of earlier Central Andean power centers, such as Recuay, Tiwanaku, Wari. There was an ideological point being made through the interlocking tapestry structure, one that harped on an identity bound to the pastoral highlands (*altiplano*) and to previous powers based there.

It is possible that an element of ideology is being expressed, therefore, when we see Inka women's elite *lliklla* structures using weft-float patterning that resembles warp-float or warp-faced weaving.[329] On the one hand, the Inkas are nodding to the weaving tradition of the high plateau and, on the other, they are underlining that their weft-float methods can absorb the warp-faced technique of that region into their own textile language, thus integrating aspects of both Inka and non-Inka weaving

[329] The technical difference between something created through warp patterning and something created through weft-facing patterning, such as weft-float, is one that has little bearing on the outward appearance. Elena Phipps notes that "skilled weavers could create identical patterning using either method, and Inca master weavers did produce textiles in both systems. The finest examples of these can be indistinguishable without microscopic examination of the edges of the cloth." See Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 22.

traditions. It inherently sends a message about the "meeting" of Inka and non-Inka elements: that Inka methods can overtake more traditional methods. That this is being expressed in the form of a zigzag motif may simply be further materializing, or articulating that idea of dynamic, relational processes—conjoining of different entities or parts to form a necessary and productive tension that fuels Inka territorial identity.

This *lliklla* also has another curious feature, which is the semblance or *illusion* —but not the actual existence— of a seam line running across the yellow field or pampa in the center.[330] This also seems to scramble how the garment should be identified with regard to culture/place. One technical feature of the fine quality Inka cloth called *qumpi* that circulated among the elites and their allies (and that also echoes the tapestry textiles of the great Tiwanaku weaving tradition of hundreds of years prior), was that Inka *qumpi* were typically *single* web structures, requiring *no* sewing of panels. Especially for the male *unkus*/tunics and for women's garments of similar proportions, we would not expect to see *two* panels stitched together, forming a seam in the garment, but rather a single, intact panel.[331] In contrast, textiles of an elite variety woven of two webs or panels sewn together and thus showcasing seams would be more associable with a culture *other* than the Inkas (such as of the

[330] Phipps, T*he Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830,* 133.
[331] Ibid., 130; in a larger *qumpi* garment such as in an *aksu* (gown) referenced in this catalog, we do see more than one panel sewn together to create the form, so this is not an intervention that would have been seen across the board. See also chapter 4 of this dissertation.

inhabitants in the Titicaca region, *Qollasuyu,* mentioned above). A seam line down the middle of a garment such as this would again be indicative of the highland warp-patterned traditions (referring back to the *altiplano* area, that traditionally Aymara stronghold) that used more than one fabric web to assemble a garment.[332] Here in this *lliklla*, the Inka weaver *does* reference a seam even though *factually* the seam is not there—what the weaver has done is add "float" stitches along the middle of the central pampa/field that creates a deeper color line and *suggests* a seam where there is not one.[333] The Inka weaver is using a structural technique at superficie to mimic the textile form of another highland culture. That is, the surface suggests the *other* highland region/culture's technical cues but the underlying structural markers remain Inka. At the site of Pachacamac, other *llikllas* of this similar type have also been documented as having this "false" seam.[334]

Whether seen in the weft-float patterning that mimics warp-float or warp-faced patterning, or whether it is seen in the allusion to a seam, which would refer to a two-paneled fabric, the value of associating this Inka *lliklla* with Lake Titicaca *altiplano* weaving tradition was perhaps centered on the recognized weaving expertise of the Aymara highland weavers who inhabit that region. (Later, in the early colonial period, Spanish chroniclers would document the skill of the Aymara weavers from

[332] The Wari culture that preceded the Inkas as a territorial power with their center in the Central Andes also produced interlocking tapestry garments but used 2-web structure rather than the Inkas' 1-web structure.
[333] Phipps, catalogue T*he Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830*, 133.
[334] Ibid.

the Lupaqa region, near Lake Titicaca.)[335] The Inkas' establishment of several weaving workshops in the vicinity of Lake Titicaca, for example Capachica in the Qolla/Colla province, makes apparent that they were keen on sourcing the weaving labor of this area.[336]

In addition to this, referencing a weaving practice that pointed in the direction of the majestic Lake Titicaca might also invoke the power of the lake itself, as a divine entity, and bring it within the Inka orbit. In a broader Andean cosmology, one that the Inkas also tapped into, Lake Titicaca was seen as an origin point from which emerged the Sun, the Moon, and stars. The lake was also central to notions of balance in the lived space: an underlying earthly balance depended on water cycles and the lake took part in these cycles. The lake produced and ordered celestial phenomena (rising as they did from her form) and these, in turn, affected how various waters flowed, with the Sun contributing to water evaporation that would lead to rainfall and carry water to distant places only to return to the lake through subterranean waterways.[337] The lake was thus a symbolic center of processes that established equilibrium, associated with both light and water which so critical to existence.[338]

---

[335] Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 24.
[336] Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," 240. Rowe also notes Húanuco, in central Peru, and Caxas, in northern Peru, as esteemed textile production centers. See also Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 25.
[337] Blithz Lozada Pereira, *Cosmovisión, Historia y Política en los Andes*, Master's thesis, colección de la Maestr´â en Historias Andinas y Amazónicas, Vol. 8 (La Paz: Colegio Nacional de Historiadores de Bolivia/Producciones CIMA, 2013), 96-97.
[338] Ibid.

In this chapter I have discussed how state ideology and structure employed gender constructs in complex ways and activated gender differently depending on circumstances to suit the Inka state. Gender as ideology functioned in a relational manner, adaptive to the interplay between the state and an outlying context, and responsive to that context as opposed to entrenched in one particular way. There was a degree of parity between genders in relation to the materials of wealth/value, as women might also control the means of production. As noted previously, the *quyas* (wives of the ruler) oversaw the farming of their own lands and had tributary payments owed to them as apart from the tribute owed to the *Sapa* Inka (ruler). The role of women in relation to an Inka ruler's status and legitimacy and within gambits for expansion was paramount (rulership in itself being limited to males). In terms of Inka rulership, for example, a ruler's assumption to the imperial throne was made complete by his marriage to a principal wife, whose presence could be pivotal to whether a ruler was deemed to have enough clout and support to make encroachments on new territories and resources. Illuminating this, Maria Rostworowski references the Spanish chronicler and lawyer Polo de Ondogardo's comment: "Aquella muger era más estimada para casarse con ella que más deudo tenía y no la que era más rica porque la que era más emparentada traía consigo amigos y gente que era lo que más se apreciaba por ser la casa mayor y en esto ponían su honra y autoridad y el poder…"[339] In the way power was visualized among the Inkas, we can also note that the *quya* was a necessary presence when the ruler (*Sapa* Inka) received the royal

[339] Rostworowski, *Estructuras Andinas del Poder*, 160.

tassel, or the *maskaypacha* (discussed in chapter 2).[340] And there are narratives told in the early chronicles of women caciques who governed provinces incorporated into the Inka empire, suggesting that there was room for political autonomy/authority for women.

However, as has been discussed in this chapter, girls and women were part of the visual rhetoric of the conquering state and came to visualize Inka power through their labor and through how their bodies were moved across the landscape to carry out these labors or became symbols of an Inka ideology of borders. The incorporation of the foreign "unknown" within the Inka "known" would often occur through the absorption of female bodies and, I argue, this absorption was explicitly materialized through the textiles the women wore. The idea that the extraneous or the "other" could be brought closer through these gestures intoned upon the young girl or woman's body comes forward in how they donned the visual rhetoric of the state on their bodies in the form of textiles and certain textile patterns. In a last example, we can point to another finding also within the context of the ceremonial site Pachacamac, where extensive burials of state *akllas* have been located. In one burial, an *aklla's aksu* was found with macaw and robin feathers "in its folds."[341] These feathers would have materially and symbolically brought the distant lowland landscape—and territories—into this highland textile's sphere of meaning and, by

[340] Rostworowski, "Succession, Cooption to Kingship, and Royal Incest among the Inca," 420.
[341] Metropolitan Museum of Art, T*he Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830,* 130.

extension, into the Inka territory. Textiles, as a visual language that "located" people through techniques and motifs that to a degree could be traced to specific regions or cultures, did the same job but played much more closely to the woman's body, essentially.

Particular components of Inka visual culture contribute not only to how we may think about textiles produced under Inka rule but also about textiles produced during the early colonial phase, when Inka influence was still widely felt.[342] In the following chapter, I will add to the discussion introduced in chapters 2 and 3 regarding pre-contact Inka textiles' expressions of border ideology by following the inquiry into the colonial period.

[342] Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," 243, for example, notes that Inka garments and garments of the Inka style continued to be worn in the centuries after Spanish invasion, something evident in colonial paintings showcasing Indigenous elites.

Chapter Four

Media that Mediates: Textiles and Texts in the Colonial Space

Textiles Speaking to Power

The previous chapters referenced how certain motif types could be understood within pre-contact Andean notions of space and how the Inkas in particular may have deployed certain symbols and forms within their visual rhetoric of territory and what border areas meant. Due to the extent to which Indigenous textiles were heavily invested with meaning in the pre-contact period, the same visual rhetoric was capable of carrying into the colonial period and could be said to "speak" for the people who wore them or used them in the new colonial context.

What kind of speech, though, was necessary during the early colonial phase? With respect to the Spanish colonial imposition on the Andean landscape, the discourse of territory and who claimed what lands became ever sharper. The visual rhetoric of Inka textiles or fiber technology may have taken on a new currency in relation to questions of landscape under Spanish rule. The question at hand is to what extent were textiles able to interface with the newly introduced written word and with legal codes of a foreign nature. This chapter examines certain motifs expressed on Indigenous textiles and ascertained in representations of textiles and suggests they helped convey Indigenous authority in the colonial period such that they would have had significant value to elite Andeans trying to navigate the changeover in power

dynamics at the time. Looking at different examples of textiles in the archaeological record as well as in representations textiles seen in drawings and paintings, I argue that the visual language of weaving and textiles helped elite Inkas, particularly, refer back to a past defined by autochthonous rulership and brought forward, in different degrees, connotations of Indigenous access to (their) land. More broadly, textiles are discussed to also reflect how, as a visual and material language with a long Andean history, they visualized colonial Andeans' responses to cultural change in the sixteenth century and onwards. It is perhaps because of the fairly conservative nature of certain textile types and the very subtle changes made to their format, structure, material, and design aspects in the colonial period that less inquiry has been made into how they might be interpreted or read in relation to such pertinent questions as land use, land claim, territory, etc. Here I aim to highlight that they were indeed forms that carried relevant content with regard to the topic of the time: access and claim to space—whether cultural, political, territorial. Perhaps the most powerful currency in the colonial context was any thing or event or position that facilitated passage between Spanish and Andean spaces and ideological systems as well as access to both the Andean past and the Spanish colonial present—and numerous examples of colonial Indigenous textiles and representations of such textiles seem to exhibit this.

As a backdrop to how we may think about textiles as forms that carried relevant information about aspects of land and land use, I begin by remarking on the

traditional Andean recording system of fiber knots, called *khipu*. These fiber instruments were accepted as references by colonial administrators to corroborate accounts of tribute payments within the new colonial framework of *encomiendas*. José Carlos De la Puente Luna writes about how *khipus* were also used as references within the legal activism of colonial period *kurakas*, or Indigenous administrators, seeking redress with respect to land usurpation or other injustices committed against their communities.[343] In other words, certain objects of fiber technology were deemed even by the foreign power to have a legitimacy that corresponded to Spanish written accountability. While *khipus* were most recognized in the chronicles for statistical record keeping, often pointing to tribute payments that the Spaniards were keen to overtake, it is possible they could also retain narrative or historical content.

I suggest in this chapter that alongside *khipus,* which were "read" and acknowledged in spaces of power and order, *other* modes of fiber expression—such as woven structures worn on the body—were also part of a legible communication system that could have had place within colonial administrative or even juridical contexts. If both men's and women's woven garments in the pre-contact context were able to express a wearer's place of origin or extended notions of land use and border spaces or territorial edges, as I have commented on in the previous chapters, there is reason to believe these messages carried into the post-contact period. Their legibility would be

[343] Jose Carlos de la Puente Luna, "That Which Belongs to All: Khipus, Community, and Indigenous Legal Activism in the Early Colonial Andes," *The Americas*, Vol. 72 Special Issue: Indigenous Liminalities: Andean Actors and Translators of Colonial Culture (Jan. 2015): 19-54.

harder to discern within the general cacophony of the colonial experience, where new identities were continually being constructed, but the profound and embedded practice of weaving and the knowledge it carried historically invite us to consider the possibility.

Fabricating the Self in the Colonial Context

There are several instances throughout Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's manuscript where he portrays colonial Native Andeans wearing outfits that combine Indigenous textiles and Spanish clothing, portraying thus how the colonial space opened a cultural exchange in attire, among other things. Guaman Poma's illustrated documentation of clothing provides important information about the relevance of Indigenous garments given that colonization had upended weaving practices and introduced new dress codes. Noteworthy in his drawings are careful references to Indigenous motifs on Indigenous figures who are leveraging significant power as mediators between different authorities and/or different authoritative realities; in these figures we see a specificity of textile motifs. This specificity corresponds to Indigenous authority. In reviewing the *Nueva Corónica* images of several *kuraka* lords, Tom Zuidema points out how Guaman Poma showcases the particularities of their textile motifs in relation to their status as mediating/mediative colonial figures.[344] Guaman Poma denotes that details of dress that seem significant in the

[344] R. Tom Zuidema, "Guaman Poma on Inca Hierarchy, Before and in Colonial Times," in *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guaman Poma and His Nueva Corónica*, eds. Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2015).

types of circumstances where the wearer straddles a border zone that must negotiate power or value between spheres of interest. These images relay that we can look to details of Indigenous cloth/textile for particular relevance, such as in contexts that are meant to express authority.[345] The specificity of textiles seems to relay Indigenous authority in a manner that elevates the visual to verify or contend with the lexical. We can recognize that the display of Indigenous motifs indicate Indigenous authority; the question that follows is, does Guaman Poma also lead us towards engaging with these motifs as c*ommunicative* code that puts the textile on par with *linguistic/alphabetic* authority?

While this dissertation refers to textile or fiber objects as formats that should be treated alongside the written word and also refers to them as "texts" and to weaving as a "language," I am not using my discussion to engage whether textiles *are* a "writing" system. Textile components like motifs (e.g. Inka *tuqapu*) are graphic signs with meaning but the inclination in this dissertation is to see motifs activating a semantic *field of meaning* rather than meaning in much more specific terms. Or, and tangentially, motifs or design aspects are not interpreted for meaning or context in a stand-alone fashion—i.e. form by itself does not tell us enough—but instead textile

[345] Finley Hughes, 148-178, offers similar analysis of how Guaman Poma underlines the authority of Inka provincial administrators and other elite Inkas in service of the Sapa Inka by drawing them wearing/carrying *ch'uspas* (coca bags), that serve as, in her analysis, "visual emblems" of empire.

"language" is explored for how it conveys meaning through its modes of production, use, and circulation and any given motif's relational character in specific contexts.

What Guaman Poma offers in these particular images is that on occasions when someone must balance cultural differences and bi-cultural negotiations, Indigenous textiles of a certain order are clear visual codes that signal the wearer as gateway to a past authoritative knowledge even while new communication codes, like writing and print culture, are pervasive; the wearer of these textiles, by virtue of their coding, is acknowledged to be fluent in the *past* and versed—specifically in how they are *dressed*—in an authority that resonates with a pre-contact communicative system, which still matters in the extent that the wearer claims authority to represent that past. Guaman Poma adequately expresses that certain Native Andeans are able to navigate, or are conversant and fluent, in the authority structures of an Andean reality as well as a Spanish colonial one by coding information everywhere on his page—in the writing, in the composition, in the clothing. He conveys that these bi-cultural figures inhabit multiple realities. He dresses his Andean mediators in a way that categorizes neither as Andean or Spanish entirely but rather as a convergence of both. For example, in this illustration, the author represents himself as a mediating, threshold figure most expressively in his clothing (Fig. 39).

Fig. 39. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno,* 1615. PREGVNTA EL AVTOR, "MA, VILLAVAI ["Pero, díganme"] ACHAMITAMA," [Aymara: "Tu llanto desde allí"] folio 366 [368]. Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/368/en/text/?open=idm46287306165344

In the composition the author Guaman Poma stands as a correspondent of sorts, seeking information from Native authorities who will serve as respondents for him to help him relay a proper history of Andean civilization. They represent the four *suyus*, or parts, of the former Inka empire: *Chinchay Suyu, Ande Suyu, Colla Suyu, Conde Suyu*. In association with this illustration, he writes that these men are recounting the history of Andeans from the time of Adam and Eve, thus incorporating the Andes within the Western biblical story; significantly, he writes they use their knotted cord devices, the *khipus*, to relay this. (Although his drawing does not show the *khipu,* he does illustrate the device and recognize it visually in other parts of his manuscript.) In Guaman Poma's description, the *khipu's* informative value—stemming from its long-standing history as an authoritative mode of communication based on Andean fiber

technology— converges with his own written text, which is a facet of Spanish/European communicative authority, and both come forward as necessary recording modes.[346] Although he does not specifically articulate that clothing carries similar communicative substance, certain recurring emphases he places on wardrobe details or accessories lead the viewer to assess the Indigenous textiles as message-bearing media.

What Guaman Poma leaves unmentioned in his text is that, in drawings like this one of himself centered on the page as a mediator and messenger, the outfit carries communicative authority on its own. While his body within the composition relays his centrality as an intermediary between the content on the page and the reader/viewer, he neglects to verbally comment on how his clothing also holds space. In fact, his combination of garments speaks volumes about his authority as a cross-cultural communicator. As he has drawn himself at the center of the image, and as the reader/viewer realizes that it is through him that one can understand the content of the manuscript, we begin to appreciate the nuances of his appearance. To appreciate the extent of his compositional acumen as well as his attention to detail, we may look to another drawing of Guaman Poma's with a similar scope. This is an image of a *Sapa*

[346] For more on *khipu* as a format through which information was kept and disseminated, and in acknowledgment of its long use and development in the Andes, see, for example: Gary Urton, *Inka History in Knots: Reading Khipus as Primary Sources* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017); Juan Antonio Murro and Jeffrey C. Splitstoser, *Written in Knots: Undeciphered Accounts of Andean Life* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2019); Frank Salomon, *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Galen Brokaw, *A History of the Khipu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Inka surrounded by his *Tawantinsuyu* royal council (p. 364 [366] in the manuscript) which, like Figure 39, points to how clothing bespeaks authority.[347] That image centers the *Sapa* Inka on the page, focusing our attention on *his* priority of place among the other men, and literally invests him with authority by representing him wearing an "All-*tuqapu*" type of *unku*.[348] The expression of the motifs on the *Sapa* Inka's garb affirm to the viewer that this figure gathers onto his being subordinate entities just as the details of Guaman Poma's clothing, in the drawing wherein *he* is centered among his Indigenous correspondents, affirms his powerful role as someone who mediates between the Andean and the Spanish understanding of things. In Figure 39, Guaman Poma wears a European style cape, breeches, stockings, shoes, and hat, as well as lace details at his neck and at his cuffs. But the shirt top he wears is not European. Rather, it is in the form of the traditional Andean tunic, the *unku*, although a shortened version of such. The *unku* is prominent, occupying the center and allowing a visual resting place for the eye scanning the composition. It further stands out due to its motif details. The drawing suggests the *unku* is decorated with a feather or a tassel motif, something seen in Inka period *unkus*. If they are tassels, they could be a reference to the value of conquest, perhaps alluding to the metaphorical collection of enemy heads (see chapter 2); if they are a reference to feathers, this

[347] See Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (1615); Royal council of these kingdoms, *Qhapaq Inka Tawantin Suyu kamachikuq apukuna*, the Inka lords who govern Tawantinsuyu," The Guaman Poma Website, Det Kongelike Bibliotek, Royal Library, Denmark online. Accessed October 2021. http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/366/en/image/?open=idm45693536739296

[348] Here we may look to Rebecca Stone's work again on how the "All-*tuqapu*" type suggests the Sapa Inka's intended claim of territory/new subjects: Stone, "'And All Theirs Different from His,'" 385-422.

could relay that the wearer came from an ethnicity with access to the flora and fauna of the Andes' tropical regions.[349] Furthermore, his breeches, though a European style, have a star-like motif that resembles a motif seen on the *unku* of the Indigenous figure on the (conceptual/paper's) right. (Mary Frame writes about the star motif as belonging to ethnic groups in the Chuquibamba region who were absorbed by the Inka empire.)[350]

The value of the Indigenous *unku* should be recognized particularly in the context of interlocution here: Guaman Poma represents himself as a figure straddling the communicative border between Andeans and Spaniards but also between past and present—as he is there to glean from these men the correct account of Andean history to then insert into his manuscript before mailing it off to the King of Spain. Somewhat parallel to the alterations of being or identity that Guaman Poma has experienced in the colonial period, the *unku* is a threshold form that flags its elite, rank-holding Indigenous identity, but it has been tailored to make it "conversant" within the Spanish colonial context. On the body of Guaman Poma, it accentuates his own role as a mediating figure between Andean and Spanish worlds, a powerful role. Combined with the breeches, etc., the woven *unku* acts across cultural and, we may say temporal, borders.[351]

---

[349] Zuidema, "Guaman Poma on Inca Hierarchy, Before and in Colonial Times," 458.
[350] Mary Frame, "Chuquibamba: A Highland Textile Style," *Textile Museum Journal*, Vol. 36-37 (1997-98): 3-48.
[351] Regarding elite rank motifs versus stripes that reference regional status/identification, see Zuidema, "Guaman Poma on Inca Hierarchy, Before and in Colonial Times," 458.

The In-between or Tinku

Guaman Poma pronounces himself to the reader/viewer of his text as a man between worlds from the very material format of his written manuscript. Apart from his claim to the Western book form, colonial documentary records indicate that he maneuvered between contexts in other dexterous ways as well. His manuscript, for example, is written in Quechua, Aymara, and Spanish; it sources its narrative style from Christian sermons and from colonial chronicles; it includes illustrations that are reminiscent of European engravings/prints; furthermore, its layout is characterized by a balancing of text and illustrative work throughout, which suggests an Andean sensitivity to duality and the value that comes from complementary oppositions.[352] Apart from this, we can look to his biography, as well, to see his "inbetweenness" come through: how he presents Martín de Ayala, his mestizo half-brother in his tome, dressed as a Catholic priest;[353] yet how he also purports that his father is a noble from the Lucana ethnic group and his mother an Inka princess.[354] We know from colonial documents, as well, that he participated in the machinery of colonial bureaucracy to different degrees, mediating between his interests as an Andean and as a colonial inhabitant. For example, he served as an interpreter in the process of *composiciones de tierras*,

---

[352] See Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); Juan Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido: La idea de la Historia en Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la PUCP, 2014); See also Valerie Fraser, "The Artistry of Guaman Poma," *RES: Anthropology and Aestheticcs*, Vol. 29-30 (Spring/Autumn 1996): 269-89.

[353] Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (1615), Det Kongelike Bibliotek, Royal Library, Denmark, online Guaman Poma Website: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/17/en/image/; [folio 17]

[354] See for example, Rolena Adorno, "Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala: Author and Prince," in *Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author,* eds. Adorno, Rolena et al. (New York: Americas Society, 1992), 33-45.

regarding the colonial administration of land titles, and we know he also made forays into the court system, as he turns up in litigation records making claims to lands he stated were part of his family's legacy.[355]

In another relevant drawing, we are presented with a relative of his, presumably his brother, who wears the combination of Indigenous *unku* and Spanish breeches, etc. (Fig. 40).

Fig. 40. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, c. 1615.PRINCIPALES: *CAPAC APO GVAMAN CHAgua*, Yaro Bilca, Allauca Guanoco, hijo de *capac apo Chaua*, príncipe Ayala, *capac churi,* folio 741 [755] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/755/en/text/

[355] Ibid., 36. The fact that he worked in the orbit of administration of land titles begs the question of why he would not be more explicit in his manuscript in associating textiles with the inhabited Andean space or notions of land claim if they did carry that value; I offer that a lack of explicitness in this scenario may have to do with him wanting to let the textiles speak for themselves. Throughout his text, the specificity of content in the textiles he draws has not been explained in writing so much as offered for viewing and for the decipherment of those who, like him, were familiar with the textiles' embedded information.

This figure is also in an authoritative position that requires him to mediate between varying interests. As a *principal*, or noble ethnic lord, he serves as an administrator over his fellow Indigenous Andeans and straddles the space between them and the Spanish bureaucratic power. The descriptive details in this illustration invite reflection on the way certain Andean figures embraced roles that spanned Spanish and Andean identity, turning themselves into threshold objects, so to speak, who embodied fluid movement across cultural, linguistic, and political boundaries.

Like in Guaman Poma's self-portrait, this man's *unku* is shortened to resemble a Spanish shirt or *camisa*. The visual rhetoric of the man's Spanish attire tells us he navigates the space of Spanish colonial power while his Indigenous *unku* states his authoritative access to Indigenous traditions and power that hearkens to a pre-contact past. We might further mention that the cloth, like the man adorned with it, also transgresses cultural boundaries in its structural aspects and fiber composition—it is likely woven according to the structural preferences of a certain highland type of garment, and with native camelid fibers, but it is now tailored to conform to a Spanish aesthetic of shortened hemline. The *unku* conveys a bi-cultural authority in the same way that the written text, this monumental endeavor of Guaman Poma's, intends to.

It is here relevant to point out some questions that arise with regard to the manufacture of elite woven cloth in the early colonial period. For example, to what extent do changes in the perceived value of Indigenous textiles affect how we should

interpret Guaman Poma's illustrations? Or how does weaving practice in the early colonial period inform how we understand the particular fashion or "cut" of the *unkus* that Guaman Poma's men of "bi-cultural authority" wear? Are the colonial-era men that Guaman Poma portrays wearing that finest category of garment called "*qumpi,*" that would be associable with an Inka past? How weaving was carried out in the post-contact period, and to what degree textiles still conformed to the standards of quality that the Inka state had stipulated for "*qumpi*," is difficult to answer with assurance.[356] Certainly, with the dismantling of Inka rulership and its administrative oversight, many of the practices pertaining to elite weavings (*qumpi*) were altered. Nonetheless, early chronicles, Spanish inquiries/*visitas*, and historical legal documents make reference to textiles deemed "*qumpi*," so an appreciation of quality that aligned with Inka standards prevailed in the colonial period. This would be the case not only for textiles that had been made as "*qumpi*" in the pre-contact period and that were still circulating in the post-contact era, but also textiles newly fabricated in the colonial period, that were likewise recognized as "*qumpi*"—and there are such garments recognized throughout the archival records. Gabriela Ramos, for example, cites the 1611 legal testament of a woman named Ana Quispe Asarpay, a descendant of Atawallpa, who records that she commissioned two male weavers to produce *qumpi*

[356] And this is apart from the question of what exactly "*qumpi/qompi*" entailed. See Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," 239. Rowe suggests the fineness of *qumpi* in terms of how it was described in the early colonial period as lacking visible or loose yarns on either face meant it referred specifically to tapestry, or weft-facing, weave, but this is not how *qumpi* is defined formally in any records. Rowe summarizes, "the term probably designated technique as well as fineness; if so, qompi was tapestry-woven cloth."

garments for her, referencing one *aksu* (gown) with *tuqapu* motifs and also a male "*uncu de cumbi*" (*unku de qumpi*) that was "on the loom" still.[357]

We know that colonial period cloth that was called "*qumpi*" held significant exchange value, for example, transmitting that some kind of quality of high degree was retained in this type. Ramos notes how in one colonial era account, one *lliklla* (mantle or shawl) was exchanged for two baskets of coca—coca being a very high exchange value good.[358] However, Ramos also relays that *qumpi* cloth's market or exchange value varied significantly and that *qumpi* quality garments did not always demand high "price."[359] This perhaps has less to do with the degree to which a *qumpi* garment met pre-contact quality standards, however, and more to do with its symbolic weight and to what extent its symbolism held within a given circle. The symbolic value of *qumpi* garments could be significant but that did not translate to market value necessarily. As Ramos discusses, one way to think about many textiles that are sourced from the colonial period and recognized as "*qumpi*" is to see them as inalienable property or goods that cannot be contemplated within the same systems of production and circulation as other textiles (such as tributary textiles), since they were

[357] Gabriela Ramos, "Los Tejidos y la Sociedad Colonial Andina," *Colonial Latin American Review*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (April 2010) 115-149 128.
[358] Ibid. In the new social-political structure of *encomiendas* and the tribute system devised under them, tribute in cloth was standard but significant quantities of textiles were also produced outside this system, circulating in a nascent market system that compensated weavers with monetary currency or other staple or luxury goods. See also Graubart, "Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor in Early Colonial Peru," 553: "While there is little direct contractual evidence for non-encomienda production of textiles, the record of litigation and bureaucratic self-investigation reveals that it was indeed substantial."
[359] Ramos., 128.

made by "special order."[360] *Qumpi* clothing that carried an individual commissioner's "stamp" or marker of identity of some kind (e.g. motifs or what became popular among colonial Indigenous elites: coats of arms, etc.) would have had a value likely not recognized fully by a market system but rather within a symbolic (and memorial/ commemorative) system. Ramos notes that most of the examples we have of colonial-era *qumpi* cloth entered into this category.[361] When we look at Guaman Poma's drawings of colonial-era men wearing Inka-style, presumably *qumpi unkus*, but measured to a more European fit (i.e. like a *camisa*), therefore, we might register them as being recognized as high quality in both an Andean and a European framework. They likely were produced according to a degree of standard that would have register as Inka "elite," although they would not hold *market* value as much as symbolic, inalienable, (identitary) value.

The question of how garments were made in the colonial period is also relevant when looking at these Guaman Poma drawings. While woven Indigenous cloth continued to be produced in quantity for the Spanish state, production regulation of this good was not the same. The Spanish did not, for one, seek to produce cloth of quality like "*qumpi*" nor were the weavers the same as the types of people who had woven for the Inka state coffers. In terms of quality, tribute in cloth for the Spanish meant production in quantity of a more plebeian type, "rectangular blocks of woven cloth

[360] Ibid. "...habría que diferenciar...las prendas que formaban parte de la tasa del tributo...de aquellas que no entraban al mercado pues se hicieron a pedido y llevaban el sello personal del usuario."
[361] Ibid.

made of cotton and wool, known as *la ropa de la tierra*, 'native clothing,'" that would be re-circulated elsewhere, since there was "a market for rural production in the new urban and mining centers."[362] And, regarding *who* was doing the weaving, as Graubart examines in her research, during Spanish colonization division of labor in terms of tributary cloth production at the community level began to fall along Western models of gendered labor practice. Apart from the Inkas' special classes of weavers (e.g. the *mamakuna, akllakuna, qumpicamayuq*), community tribute in cloth for the Inka state seems to have been carried out by households where both men and women contributed labor.[363] In contrast, with the Spanish system, it was more exclusively women who were tasked with weaving in their domestic settings (while men were away providing tribute labor in ways that moved them away from their communities and home bases).[364] What kind of loom would be used to create a cloth deemed "*qumpi*" in the colonial period is another question. Did Guaman Poma draw men wearing shorter *unkus* because these men were consciously adopting a European style (i.e. approaching the European *camisa* type) and therefore acting out a bi-

[362] Karen B. Graubart, *With Their Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 29. In her book, Graubart examines how labor was reorganized in the colonial context in gendered terms, and how a new tribute economy alongside burgeoning mercantile constraints and opportunities changed labor and production relations within Andean communities and families. See also Arnold, *El Textil y la Documentación del Tributo*, 90, where she notes a *kuraka* informant's comment in the *Visita a Chucuito* (1567) that suggests the Spaniards received the coarse, "*awaska*," cloth rather than the *qumpi* cloth although Indigenous weavers were still making both types: "Hay muchos indios que hacen ropa de *cumbi* y las indias hacen ropa de *auasca* y que han hecho mucha ropa de *auasca* a españoles dándoles ellos la lana y les dan por la hechura de cada pieza que es manta y camiseta para hombre o *anaco* y *liquilla* para mujer dos pesos..."

[363] Graubart, "Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor in Early Colonial Peru," 545.

[364] See Graubart, *With Their Labor and Sweat*, chapter 1.

cultural identity, or did he draw what had become simply the new standard because of changes in production/manufacture brought on by colonial administration? In the pre-contact period, the creation of *qumpi* cloth, particularly male "*unkus de qumpi*," would have required loom structures that facilitated standardization by meeting the required dimensions of a state *unku* as well as allowing a battening down of the weft threads in the weft-facing (tapestry) panel so as to produce the desired fineness of a high density thread count. Rowe, quoting Bernabé Cobo, notes that the pre-contact "*qumpi*" looms were: "made of four poles in the shape of a frame and were set upright beside a wall."[365] Alongside his description of the pre-contact "*qumpi*" loom, Cobo also noted that during his own time (mid-1600s), weavers were still making "hangings of the same kind of cloth with coats of arms to order," but that the *qumpi* "they make now is far short of the ancient in fineness;" however, it seems significant that he does not comment on any difference in the type of loom used. It seems very likely that weavers in the post-contact period would have been able to use the same type of loom structures to continue making *unkus* of the same dimensions and fineness as in the pre-contact period—and yet they did *not* make *unkus* of the same dimensions nor of the same fineness. My suggestion is that just as lack of Inka oversight in production meant a loosening of the technical requirements of *qumpi* in terms of thread count, for example, there was also a loosening in the cultural requirements of a standard *unku* length and that the loom type was not a factor of changes being made so much as surveillance—or lack of cultural/administrative

[365] Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," 241.

oversight—was. Even so, the colonial period "*unkus de qumpi*" in various collections today have a quality of thread count that, although not as fine as in the Inka period, nonetheless are of a degree of fineness that would point to the use of the upright looms that allowed for this.

The quality of or the value transmitted through "*qumpi*," then, likely retained enough continuity from pre- to post-contact textiles that Guaman Poma's depictions of "*unkus de qumpi*" meant something very important to the Andean viewers. And although not an illustrative medium equivalent to European prints, drawings, or paintings of the time, nor equivalent to the presumed *kilke*, or graphic format of the Inkas (whose aspect or meaning remains somewhat obscure), the visual/rhetorical language of textiles very much had currency in Guaman Poma's cultural sphere.[366] Rolena Adorno's analysis of the Indigenous Andean chronicler's drawings examines how he seems to use Andean spatial concepts or "symbolic values of space" to relay subtextual messages in his drawings, therefore acknowledging and employing his Andean knowledge base.[367] Adorno suggests that Guaman Poma presents his own autochthonous value system in the compositions of his drawings and Mary Frame and Joanne Pillsbury, for example, argue that he is careful enough in his description of textiles to also be conveying something of an Andean value system through them.[368]

---

[366] See, for example, Galen Brokaw, "Semiotics, Aesthetics, and the Quechua Concept of Quilca," in *Colonial Mediascapes: Sensory Worlds of the Early Americas*, eds. Matt Cohen and Jeffrey Glover (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 166-202.
[367] Rolena Adorno, "The Depiction of Self and Other in Colonial Peru," *Art Journal* 49: 2 (1990), 114-15.
[368] Ibid., 110-18.

When Guaman Poma visually describes textiles he pays attention to patterning and adornment on clothing that could be superfluous but because of his careful attention, his reiterations, and certain emphases, it is likely they hold a resonant and more specific cultural meaning lost to us across time. In the seventeenth century, when he wrote this manuscript, his representation of textile garments must have had a different charge than they hold for us today. In the chapters he reserves for Andean history where he depicts pre-contact Andeans wearing their textile garments, the specificity of his descriptions conveys to us that the textile details are not negligible. Likewise, when he depicts figures of his own time, in the early colonial space, who are dressed in a combination of Andean and Spanish wear, he seems particularly attentive to certain details in the Indigenous textiles.

The Textile as Testament

De la Puente Luna writes about how it fell to colonial period *kurakas* to undertake legal battles on behalf of their communities when their claim to lands were under threat by colonizers or disputed by other Indigenous groups.[369] *Kurakas*, also known as *principales*, became versed in the use of legal petitions to safeguard community land resources. The *kuraka* was thus often a mediating figure in legal courts where the dominance of the written word held sway. However, as mentioned, the use of fiber materials like *khipu* or, as I contend, the litigants' Indigenous textile

[369] Jose Carlos de la Puente Luna, "That Which Belongs to All," 19-54.; see also Alcira Dueñas, *Indians and Mestizos in the 'Lettered City': Reshaping Justice, Social Hierarchy, and Political Culture in Colonial Peru* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010).

attire would have also conveyed important authoritative information within the legal ambit.

This seventeenth-century Indigenous textile—a man's *unku*—exemplifies the type of textile in the colonial period that transmitted visual cues acknowledging high status in the Andean orbit but that also made use of Spanish colonial status symbols (Fig. 41).

Fig. 41. Inka *unku/* tunic (front). Warp-faced plain weave single length with embroidery detailing. Camelid fiber, silk, metallic thread, 26 3/4 x 31 in. (67.9 x 78.7 cm). c. seventeenth century. Brooklyn Museum, Gift of the Ernest Erickson Foundation, Inc., no. 86.224.51 (image in the public domain)

.

In its material quality, this *unku* is woven in warp-faced plain weave and also carries the geometric patterns that fall under the Inka motif rubric of "*tuqapu*" adorning the bottom hemline on both sides and at the neck. However, these are not exactly of the pre-contact Inka standard. They have more ornamental flair than the more reduced geometric patterning seen on pre-contact Inka *tuqapu* and they are embroidered

details rather than woven into, or embedded, in the garment's structure. The front neck opening has *tuqapus* with bird forms (possibly Hapsburg eagles) in them, which also distinguishes them from pre-contact *tuqapus,* which would have typically been non-figural. In addition, surrounding the *unku's* front and back neck openings we see ornate floral embroideries that recall a European Baroque stylization, further distinguishing this garment from pre-contact ones and situating the garment within a European visual tradition. Yet we find a composite of cultural traditions in another area of the textile's overall composition, at the *unku*'s front bottom hem. Here there is a scene reminiscent of the type seen on colonial period *qiru,* a type of traditional Inka drinking vessel with long antecedents in Andean material and cultural history. That is, the images embroidered here recall the type of figuration seen in *colonial* versions that replaced the non-figural *traditional pre-contact qiru* vessels; in recalling the *qiru*, the *unku* is signaling the dense value and meaning of an Indigenous Andean tradition wherein *qiru* were instrumental to consecrating reciprocal relationships. The *"qiru"* scene on the garment lays out in traditional colors such as yellow ochre, red, and white, three prominent male figures attended to by male/female pairs dressed in traditional Indigenous clothing on either side of them. The figures are surrounded by a bounty of flowers and what may be crops. Between this register and that of the *tuqapus* we see animals (possibly pumas and tropical birds) paired and facing one another on either side of what looks like a Sun or star emblem and another form (difficult to determine). The imagery on this front side seems to suggest a look back

to a past wherein an Andean nobility reclaims its place of power and elicits the obedience and tributes of an underclass.

On the *unku's* other side, the imagery at the bottom hem is fairly different (Fig. 42). Instead of traditional colors it is dominated by silver embroidery that heavily outlines the figures and other designs. Silver was not used as a material for weaving thread in the pre-contact Andes and only emerged to be introduced into traditional weaving practice after the Potosí/Cerro Rico silver boom of the late 1500s.[370]

Fig. 42. Inka *unku/* tunic (back). Warp-faced plain weave single length with embroidery detailing. Camelid fiber, silk, metallic thread, 26 3/4 x 31 in. (67.9 x 78.7 cm). c. seventeenth century. Brooklyn Museum, Gift of the Ernest Erickson Foundation, Inc., no. 86.224.51 (image in the public domain)

[370] Elena Phipps, "Woven Silver and Gold: Metallic Yarns in Colonial Andean Textiles," *Notes in the History of Art, Vol. 29, No.3 Special Issue: Paradoxes and Parallels in the New World* (Spring 2010): 4.

Another aspect of the imagery on this side that places the textile more firmly within its colonial Spanish context are the pairs of heraldic animals (what look to be rampant lions) set across the broad register. There are two Indigenous figures also distributed in the scene but they do not dominate visually the way the other forms do and rather appear to be attendants to the heraldic animals, although they do stand on platforms and hold a frontal stance, which suggests they are of relevant or elevated importance.

When juxtaposed to one another, the front and back imagery on the *unku* suggest two cultural referents, which is curious for a garment that would be worn by a single individual wearing a single panel of woven textile, as this is. The *unku* with its dual expression seems to operate in a border zone, but of what kind? The heraldic animals point the viewer to a hierarchy framed by Spanish authority while the figures on the front suggest a specifically Andean authority or symbol system. And while the textile makes prominent use of and reference to standardized Inka forms, like the *tuqapu*, it is also simultaneously pulling away from Inka standards, pushing it into a terrain of "borderland" identity. The *unku* in fact expresses a release from the mechanisms of control that would have been in place within the Inka order while also refuting the mechanisms of control of the Spanish order. After all, even though it showcases animals in the aspect of Spanish heraldry, these are indisputably enframed within the Indigenous matrix of the textile. Regardless, both the front and back of the garment seem to be signaling political power and presence. They may also be indicating a temporal meaning; if the front is the textile panel that showcases a primarily Inka

authoritative visual language, it readily corresponds to an Andean conceptualization that locates the past as that which is seen "in front" of one: the notion of "*ñawpa*" in Quechua is configured as both "ahead, in front" and "past."[371] This might further confirm the wearer as one invested with the authority of the Inka past—which, it should be noted too, was also understood within ideas of cyclical returns. Was the garment seen as a tool for the wearer to flex political muscle through the dual visual orders here on display? Did it register as political language to the extent that it could have contended with the written word, that would have, in the colonial space, typically negotiated questions of power and administration, perhaps even alluding to a return to an Inka order to those "in the know"? In any case, the prestige that is communicated through *both* sides of the *unku* converge on the body of the wearer. A pursuant question is whether we can presume that the textile's communicative language held more than just suggestive power and that, as the wearer walked through his colonial space, the Indigenous textile motifs as visual discourse articulated more substantive claims.[372]

[371] See Holguín, 178, who lists *ñaupa ñaupa pacha* as "antiguamente, en tiempos pasados" and *ñaupac* as "primero en orden."

[372] Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, *Clothing the New World Church: Liturgical Textiles of Spanish America, 1520-1820,* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2021): 72, comments on a similar type of *unku* from seventeenth-century Cusco that is associated with religious processions, noting also that we see these types documented visually on the parish representatives depicted in the famous *Corpus Christi* painting series. The *unku* form of this type is characterized by a dark body (e.g. brown, black fiber structure) with embellishments in silk, metallic thread, and sometimes beading at the lower hem and also on the sides. In a personal communication, Stanfield-Mazzi has suggested that these *unkus* may have been a type of uniform worn by the sons of kurakas at the Jesuit school in Cusco, San Antonio Abad.

In my archival research I have not found mention of textiles themselves acting as "documents" as such, for example as sources of legal evidence for cases related to matters such as land use or claim. It is not out of the realm of possibility that they could have done so, however. That textile garments such as men's *unkus* or women's *llikllas* could reference land or agriculture or agricultural cycles allows for the possibility that they could "speak to" land claims to a certain extent. The *unku* mentioned above has representations of what look like crops (perhaps in tribute?) on the front side that depicts the attendants making offerings to the main figures. To some degree this also implicates land use, perhaps indicating the central figure as a someone of land-holding status or of status through access to laborers working the land.

As far as textiles being used to convey value in relation to property in the colonial period, the colonial archival records do mention *unkus* and *llikllas* in testaments, indicating the high value these had for transmitting ideas of legacy and pre-contact elite Indigenous identity, among other things. With the demise of the Inka empire their sumptuary regulations were dissolved and the visual rhetoric of the elite textile type became more accessible to more people. The standardized forms/formats were also amplified or transformed to suit new sensibilities shaped by colonial encounter, hence the alterations made to the *tuqapus* seen in the *unku* above (now embroidered and also applied to new areas of the *unku*) and the addition of the stylized flowers and silver thread that imparted notions of colonial aesthetic value and luxury. The

authoritative form of Inka textiles, which would have been most clearly indexed in a pre-contact *unku* through the use of the geometric *tuqapu* motifs, gave way to non-traditional permutations and in some cases were probably worn by non-nobles. As they proliferated in the colonial space, however, these new iterations of a pre-contact textile form nonetheless maintained relevance as a kind of currency of the past, imperial state of things and continued to signal elite, legacy or noble class status—and the power correspondent to this—even if this may not have been the case. The effect of this was significant enough to induce Spanish authorities to ban the use of Indigenous garments at various times between the late sixteenth century and into the eighteenth.[373] Fluctuations in regulations regarding clothing and the natural consequences of converging cultural spaces meant that Indigenous textile garments could become at times tools of empowerment at the social, cultural, or political level. Guaman Poma, for example, offers visual commentary throughout his text on how identities were confounded and class hierarchies blurred due to the destruction of an Inka ordering system that had regulated the use of visual culture, through objects such as textiles, to guard its power structure.

In light of this use of Indigenous textiles as access points to the legitimacy of a noble past, we can view textiles such as this one as threshold objects that allow the user to cross between the Indigenous pre-contact and the colonial reality, and between the

[373] Elena Phipps, "Textiles as Cultural Memory: Andean Garments in the Colonial Period," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1996): 148.

past and the present. Even if one used textiles such as this to falsely allude to a noble past, they were still authoritative objects for the visual reclamation they make, announcing to any and all viewers, Spaniard and Andean alike, that the wearer commanded both a past and present legitimacy.

Text(ile) Interjections

There are several examples we can review for how Indigenous textiles and fiber craft in different (authoritative) early colonial contexts were able to code messages in a way that could rival/contend with the almighty written word of colonial/European hegemony. However, the point here is not to set up a binary differentiation—not to offer an examination of textiles versus/as opposed to the written word in terms of effectiveness or impact. Looking at the historical moment in Iberia of the late sixteenth century, for example, it is important to remark on the Counter-Reformational attitude that had emerged, emphasizing the value of visual communication to counter Protestant influence. In her analysis of Guaman Poma's historical chronicle and noting that his drawings end up overtaking his textual intervention, Rolena Adorno explains that this can be attributed to the general Spanish attitude regarding the value of imagery to persuade and instill messages in its viewing audience.[374] In seventeenth century Spain important treatises on art and painting were being written and it was also during this time that the Royal Academy

[374] Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance*, 81.

of Fine Arts was established.[375] The late seventeenth and early seventeenth century colonial context that Guaman Poma experienced, therefore, was complex and comprised of multiple rhetorical strategies and discourses circulating according to different social, cultural, and religious needs, among others. Guaman Poma accessed both Spanish and Andean cultural and communicative codes to relay his important message of reform to the Spanish king. As Adorno notes, too, a significant aspect of the author's attention to the visual rests also on his own Andean heritage and the remnants of the Inka culture he grew up in. She suggests his ascription to the importance of graphic media is a result of the Inka class of *quilcocamayoq*, or "keeper[s] of graphic information."[376] It is important to underline, however, the extent to which the pervasive Andean and particular Inka visual culture of *textiles* would also have informed Guaman Poma's visual vocabulary.

What the Writ Wrought

When the Spanish monarchy established claim to the Americas, possession was expressed in *visible* ways but these were necessarily bolstered by the written word. There were "ceremonies of arrival," which included the brandishing of banners, flags, crosses, breviaries, and the like, and there were words spoken but, as Patricia Seed notes, the emphasis was on words that were *written*.[377] In the legal

[375] Ibid., 81-3.
[376] Ibid., 80.
[377] Patricia Seed, Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing the Authority of Overseas Empires," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. XLIX, No. 2, 1 (Apr 1992): 185.

space that would emerge in the early colonial period, the written word was preeminent in authority. Indigenous inhabitants' oral testimonies were transcribed to fill the pages of countless manuscripts stored by the colonial bureaucratic machine and it was to the community's council scribe that one had to go in any process of seeking redress or legitimacy or contest in legal matters.

The *Requerimiento*, a written pronouncement of Spanish imposition, was an apt symbol of the level of unquestioned authority granted to the written word as part of the colonizing project. After the 1493 papal bull granted the Spanish monarchy rights to New World lands, the Crown needed a way to record its claims to authority and make legitimate their usurpation of foreign lands. The *Requerimiento* was the Crown's way of asserting legal dominion over the Amerindian "other." The written document had to be *read* aloud to the Indigenes, even if that imperative was only vaguely implemented, in order for the Spanish to "lawfully" invade and take their territory.[378] The reading of the Requerimiento was legitimized by a further written act: even in the earliest expeditions of conquest, a notary was present to record and sign testimony of an account of events witnessed.[379] For Spaniards, at least in the first fifty years of conquest, symbolic and ceremonial acts of authority pivoted around the word *seen* on paper.

[378] James Muldoon, *John Wyclif and the Rights of the Infidels: The Requerimiento Re-Examined* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 312.
[379] Seed, 204.

In this image by the early seventeenth century Indigenous Andean chronicler and illustrator Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, we see the 1532 encounter between the last pre-contact Inka emperor and Spanish forces, summoning for the reader and viewer the collision of world views and cultural materials that ensued (Fig. 43).

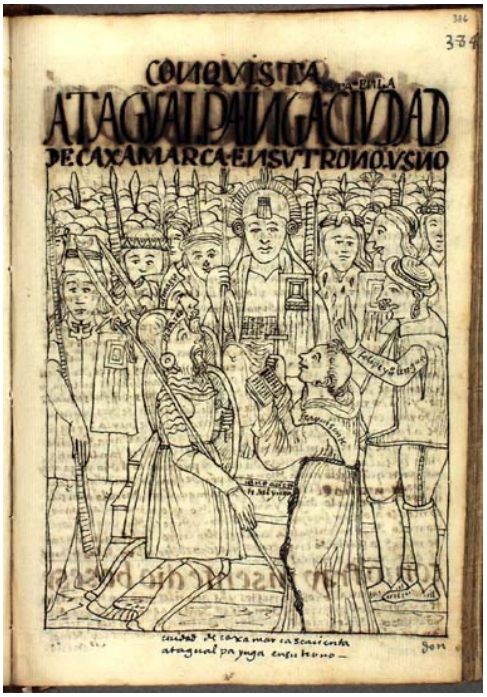

Fig. 43. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, c. 1615. *ATAGVALPA INGA* ESTÁ EN LA CIVDAD DE CAXAMARCA EN SV TRONO, *VSNO*, folio 384 [386] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/386/en/text/?open=idm46287306144304

At center of the composition, the Inka heir to the royal throne, *Atawallpa*, is presented with a bible or breviary by the Spanish friar who accompanied Pizarro's invading forces.[380] The Inka royal heir seems impervious to the book the Spaniards thrust at him: an object that they demanded he "read."

[380] Atawallpa was a contender to the throne in rivalry with his brother Huascar—sons of different mothers who were both wives of the last Inka ruler, Wayna Qhapaq; at the time of Spanish invasion, the two brothers were engaged in a civil war, a factor that significantly weighed in the Spaniards'

"...he took it in his hands, beginning to leaf through the book's pages. And the said Inka says: What? How does it not tell me? The said book does not talk to me!" [And] speaking with great majesty, seated on his throne, he threw the said book from his hands, the said Inka Atawallpa."[381]

Crystallized in the text and in the image is the moment the lettered bureaucracy of Spanish administration and the evangelizing texts of Catholicism first insert themselves in the Andean space and open the door for a colonizing framework of spiritual endeavor backed by aggressive authority. In the image, the friar holds the book open to the Inka ruler but Atawallpa and all the other Indigenous men's eyes gaze ahead, outward into whatever space exists beyond the page. The Andeans do not "see" the value in the written word; in visual counterpart, Guaman Poma has echoed the shape of the Spaniards' book with the nested rectangle or square motif woven on the Inka ruler's and others' military banners—this is the language the Andeans "read" and "see." The image relays something significant about the clash of cultures: apart from the military defeats the Andeans would suffer at the hands of the Spaniards, they were at an immediate disadvantage regarding how power was communicated through the written word. This critical meeting envisaged by Guaman Poma foretells how the Inka leader and his people will subsequently be "edged out of a history constructed

favor. For more on the political circumstances that overlapped with Spanish arrival, see Gordon F. McEwan, *The Incas,* 30-32.

[381] Guaman Poma, 385.

upon written language."[382] Even though the Spaniards present at this encounter were in large part illiterate themselves, the Spanish takeaway was that the Inka ruler's failure to comprehend the written word, with all its authoritative connotation and the specific *code* it carried, rendered him presumably helpless to their domination.[383]

But there was so much *else* to see in the spaces of colonial confrontation that the Spaniards did not quite gauge. Although the Spaniards did not immediately recognize it, the textiles the Indigenous inhabitants wore were also ways of "seeing" that had authoritative presence. And just as the written word was used as a device to legitimize claim to land, for example, Indigenous textiles also had a role in surveying and visualizing the landscape in ways that might have been understood in relation to claim and territoriality. Textiles were recognized material indices of peoples' relationship to the land. And textiles that had been produced within the rigor of Inka imperial oversight and that still circulated in the colonial period among the Indigenous population certainly would have retained that value.

Paintings Enter the Scene

Even painted representations of textiles during the colonial period conveyed their power to signal pre-contact legitimacy and legacy, or elite status. Carolyn Dean writes that colonial-period portraits of Inka nobles were part of a

[382] Antonio Cornejo Polar, *Writing in the Air: Heterogeneity and the Persistence of Oral Tradition in Andean Literatures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 22.
[383] Ibid.

revival that showcased pride in the imperial past while also superficially acknowledging Spanish rule through the use of the painting medium and its cultural connotations.[384] The Indigenous nobility that commissioned portrait paintings and viewed themselves and their pasts through the European medium expose themselves to us as figures existing between Andean and European worlds.[385] As Dean notes as well, in these portrait types the painted subjects' roles as figures with power in both Andean and Spanish spheres are highlighted through references in their clothing and their accoutrements. For example, in the mid-eighteenth century painting of a noble Andean named Don Alonso Chiguan Topa, commissioned by his noble descendants, Dean points out that he wears an outfit combining Andean and Spanish signifiers of high, "cultured" status: he holds a Christian cross while also wearing an emblem of the Inka Sun deity; he wears an Inka tunic with *tuqapu* motifs but also Spanish breeches; he wears a noble Inka headdress, the *maskaypacha*, but also holds a Spanish coat of arms.[386] The painting was part of a series of portraits held in the family home of his descendants and served as a reminder to themselves and all viewers that their family had long subscribed to aspects of colonial order and prestige (their Christian belief, their right to a Spanish coat of arms, the breeches of a cultivated urban dweller); but it also served to point out the family's esteemed heritage which reached back to a pre-contact hierarchical order. Relevant to my

[384] Carolyn Dean, "Inka Nobles: Portraiture and Paradox in Colonial Peru," *Exploring New World Imagery: Spanish Colonial Papers from the 2002 Mayer Center Symposium*, ed. by Donna Pierce (Denver: Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art, Denver Art Museum, 2005), 81.
[385] Ibid.
[386] Ibid., 94.

discussion below, furthermore, Dean articulates that "Don Alonso is shown as a master of mediativity, an individual who has made a choice [and...his] descendants, who caused his image to be recorded (or created), were themselves living in the interstices."[387]

However, there are cases where portrait paintings of Andean nobles act not only as reminders or celebrations of prestige status but also articulate positionality meant to be "read" within a Spanish colonial bureaucracy dominated by the written word. The structural reality of a Spanish administrative bureaucracy meant that in order to survive and preserve what they could of their territory, Indigenous Andeans had to adapt quickly to the new written code. The *Reales Audiencias* that administered political and juridical matters, and their subordinate cabildos, or councils, that handled regional laws, functioned through the massive inventory of paperwork generated by deputies, councilmen, mayors and bailiffs.[388] Within this torrent of written texts, clerks or notaries were prolific. As Kathryn Burns notes, by the mid-1500s Indigenous Andeans actively participated in the production of written records, making legal petitions to defend their community resources from Spanish hands.[389] Spanish notaries and, later to some extent *Andean* notaries, recorded in ink the oral

[387] Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 119-21.
[388] Administrative networks of Panama, Nueva Granada, Quito, Lima, Charcas, Santiago, Buenos Aires. Deputies, corregidores, alcaldes mayores, tenientes de alguacil.
[389] Kathryn Burns, *Making Indigenous Archives: The Quilcaycamayoc of Colonial Cuzco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 240.

testimonies of Native Andeans seeking redress for infringements on property, persons, and goods.[390]

But it seems too simple that, as Andeans were becoming conversant in the new colonial mode of administration reliant on the written word, they forsook entirely a vast tradition wherein textiles had conveyed authority and had helped establish order. The painted portraits described by Dean show that the portrayal of textiles allowed prideful access to a noble Inka heritage that carried weight in the recesses of the private home. But there are also examples of painted portraits that carried weight in circumstances where they more explicitly were meant to supplement or perhaps even contend with written word accounts in more formal contexts of contestation. An important text that lays the groundwork for this kind of inquiry is an essay by Marie Timberlake in which she analyzes the late seventeenth-century painting of two marriages that cemented the union between Inka and Jesuit lineages in the colonial space, "*Matrimonio de García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatríz.*"[391] One of the betrothals depicted in this painting is that of an Inka *Ñusta* (princess) named Beatríz, who was the daughter of one of Manco Inka Yupanqui's sons (of the neo-Inka, Vilcabamba holdout), Sayri Tupaq, and her pairing with the Spanish noble and Jesuit heir, Don Martín García de Loyola. Timberlake examines the composition and the iconographic

[390] Ibid., 240. Burns notes here that those Andeans who pursued learning alphabetic writing did so through the Church, as "lettered assistants" to Spanish missionaries, for example as fiscales, who were essentially parish disciplinarians and archivists of Native births, deaths, marriages, confessions.
[391] Marie Timberlake, "The Painted Colonial Image: Jesuit and Andean Fabrication of History in Matrimonio de García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatríz," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 29.3 (Fall 1999), 563-98.

elements such as the *qumpi* garments displayed on the bodies of the Inka participants at the event to comment on the political and social realities behind this union of (mainly) Spanish and Inka interests. A significant factor in this union was the merging of land interests and the value of the Inka *Ñusta's* land holdings that would be integrated into a Jesuit frame. Timberlake argues that elements such as the *Ñusta's* body—with its presumably *qumpi* garments that are decorated with *tuqapu* motifs--brings forward a (past) Inka authority that would offer further legitimacy to a legal process: "Beatríz, positioned at her husband's side, is alienated from her ancestry and Inkaic past, yet visually linked to that past by her gown, which, cut in Spanish style, is decorated with the tocapu (abstract woven designs) which was restricted to use by Inka royalty and signifies both her otherness and her status. The *tocapu* marks Beatríz's body as the vehicle for the transference of royal Inkaic power."[392]

Another painted work that is worth considering within this scope is a fairly recently discovered eighteenth-century portrait of a woman named Manuela Tupa Amaro, by an anonymous Cusco artist, said to be a copy of an earlier portrait in the same style (Fig. 44).[393] The woman's son, Diego Betancur, held the work among others in his collection that were commissioned for use as references in a legal case bidding for his

[392] Ibid., 567.
[393] Museo de Arte Lima, *Arte Colonial Coleccion del Museo de Arte de Lima, MALI,* eds. Luis Eduardo Wuffarden y Ricardo Kusunoki (Lima: Asociacion Museo de Arte de Lima, 2016),188; See also Natalia Majluf, "Manuela Tupa Amaro, Ñusta," in *La colección Petrus y Verónica Fernandini. El arte de la pintura en los Andes* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2015), 175-76: "...existen indicios claros de que las imágenes jugaron un papel central en la disputa, por lo que es posible pensar que el retrato haya adquirido en ese context un nuevo interés para la familia." See also Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografia y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte (*La Paz: Gisbert y Cía., 1980), 151-2.

family to be recognized as legitimate descendants of the last Inka of Vilcabamba, Tupaq Amaru; it is possible that this painting circulated similarly, operating as part of a visual strategy to stake legitimate claim to Inka noble status and, more specifically land-wise, to the marquisate/*marquesado* de Oropesa, an area outside the former Inka capital, Cusco.[394]

Fig. 44. Anónimo Cuzqueño, Manuela Tupa Amaro, c. 1777. Oil on canvas, 167x 106 cm, image courtesy of Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Lima, Peru.

As in the colonial era paintings mentioned before, this image of Manuela Tupa Amaro carries signs of both an Andean noble status and a Spanish one. The silver *tupu*, or Andean garment pin, incorporates Spanish authority with its design of

[394] Museo de Arte Lima, *Arte Colonial Coleccion* MALI, 188.

Habsburg bicephalic eagles over the Leon/Castilla coat of arms and her European lace underdress is shown as complement to her Andean woven garments—a *lliklla*/mantle and an *aksu*/gown.[395] The cartouche at bottom right conveys in writing who this person is. But to what extent do her textile garments also relay something about Doña Manuela's place in the world? The context of this commission sets it slightly apart from other portrait examples that may have been purposed for a more domestic context or to establish legitimate place in the hybrid colonial space by alluding to past authority. Here the portrait and its attention to clothing—including her Indigenous garments— may very well have been colored by legal preoccupations that would have dramatic repercussions across the Andean region, namely legal pursuits invested in land claim. What is of further interest here is that this portrait and the family context we know it was lodged within, raises the question of what women's roles could be within aspects of land claim and articulating borders.

A Woman's "Place"

Maria Rostworowski writes about women of the pre-contact Inka royal class having had personal lands that were considered their property to hand down to descendants (suggesting that this occurred through a system of parallel descent—male

[395] See Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco,* regarding hybrid clothing and the expressions of a mixed identity in the public sphere in Cusco during performances and processions. Note also Majluf, "Manuela Tupa Amaro, Ñusta," 173, points out how significant it is that the Doña Manuela's feet are bare, signaling her Indigenous identity.

to male descendants, female to female, etc., or even along matrilineal lines).[396] Referencing early colonial legal disputes between members of the *ayllus* (kin-based communities) of Sailla and Anahuarque in Quiquijana against friars of the La Merced convent in Cusco, Rostworowski notes part of their defense: they had legitimate claims to the title of certain lands that had belonged to the (ninth Inka ruler) Pachakuti's spouse, Mama Anahuarque, because she was their aunt.[397] That is, it was through *her* that possession of property could be transferred. If it was the case that women could possess and purvey land, and if aspects of land use or references to borders and spatial limitations are transmitted through certain textiles (as discussed in the previous chapters), it is possible that women's textiles had something to say about land claim, property, border expression etc., in the era of Spanish imposition.

Manuela Tupa Amaro was the daughter of the Indigenous *cacique/kuraka* Lucas Tupa Amaro and the Spaniard Gabriela Arze and through her father's line claimed to be a descendant of the last Inka at Vilcabamba, christened Felipe Tupa Amaro.[398] In Cusco, in 1683, Doña Manuela had documents prepared to assert that she was the granddaughter of Blas Tupa Amaro and Magdalena Ocllo, both descendants of Felipe Tupa Amaro I, who himself was the son of Wayna Qhapaq, the eleventh Inka

[396] Rostworowski, *Estructuras Andinas del Poder: Ideología Religiosa y Política*, 133. The author references a term that comes up in legal disputes in the early colonial period, "caca Cuzco" that seems to define a category of familial affiliation (for purposes of inheritance) but exactly what is unclear.
[397] Ibid., 133.
[398] Natalia Majluf, "Manuela Tupa Amaro, Ñusta," 170.

emperor and the last undisputed ruler of *Tawantinsuyu* before the Spanish invasion.[399] The titles Doña Manuela Tupa Amaru sought through these documents were further pursued by her son (who also claimed a creole lineage from his father's side), named Don Diego Felipe de Betancur Tupa Amaru, who would spend decades making legal claims to a *mayorazgo* to which his mother's Inka lineage entitled him.[400] (Doña Manuela's son, Diego Felipe de Betancur, seems to have offered a slightly different record of lineage than what she documents. He refers to a grandfather named Don Juan Tito Tupaq Amaro as his mother's grandfather, rather than Blas Tupa Amaro, as she had claimed, a discrepancy I am unsure how to account for.)[401] Land that Doña Manuela also pursued in her dispute was the marquisate of Oropesa that had originally been ceded in 1558 to Sayri Tupaq, son of Manco Inka, who was the first Inka to be recognized as Inka heir under Spanish colonial rule.[402] The brother of Sayri Tupaq was Tupaq Amaru, from whom Doña Manuela claimed descent. Because Sayri Tupaq's direct heirs had died out by 1741, the land was returned to the Crown and

---

[399] Ibid. See also David T. Garrett, "His Majesty's Loyal Vassals: The Indian Nobility and Túpac. Amaru." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no. 4 (2004): 607. He states that the lineage was through a grandparent named Don Juan Tito Tupac Amaru, grandfather to Lucas Tupac Amaru.

400 Significantly, his petition had him vying against Don Joseph Condorcanqui Noguera Balenzuela Camino y Torres, who would become famous in Andean history after assuming the name José Gabriel Tupac Amaru (*Tupac Amaru II*) and rising in revolt of Spanish authority in 1781. (Garrett, "His Majesty's Loyal Vassals," 608); This painting thus stands in the middle of a critical legal claim to an authoritative Inka identity in the colonial space.

[401] Majluf, 183-84. In her essay referring to the Betancur Tupa Amaru family testaments and claims, Majluf points to the archival files: ARC (Archivo Regional de Cusco), Notariales, Tomás de Gamarra, n. 186, 1780, f. 499v, from a testament dated 23, June 1703 and then reaffirmed with witnesses on August 7, 1726 and then in 1780; in turn, in his documentation regarding the Betancur Tupa Amaru family claims, Garrett, "His Majesty's Loyal Vassal," 607, points to Tomás Gamarra's leg. 173, 497ff, from 3 Dec. 1778. (According to Garret, the family claims amount to a 13- volume collection.)

[402] Majluf, "Manuela Tupa Amaro, Ñusta," 174.

hence arose later as the subject of dispute among other Inka heirs who wanted to reclaim the land.[403]

What is noteworthy in the bureaucratic filing is that (as Natalia Majluf states) Don Diego Felipe de Betancur used several paintings as part of his legal strategy regarding the claims to the land owed to his mother's estate. Although this particular portrait of Doña Manuela is not mentioned as an explicit piece of evidence in such claims, it is possible that it or one of its type, representing his mother, were included as part of a legal argument.

Commenting on this portrait, Majluf points to another painting that Betancur refers to in a written testimony, which he had commissioned and which pointedly *did* serve to represent his case in a legal context as he tried to establish Inka noble status.[404] He records that in that image he was portrayed dressed in Inka garments, and the suggestion is that this detail of clothing would help enhance and further his claim.[405] Perhaps the various paintings he used throughout his case had different renditions or distinct elements that advanced particular angles of the legal pursuit—could it be that an image such as the one pointed to here, of his mother Doña Manuela, emphasized through her Inka garments something about her Native claim to land? It is worth noting that at the time and place her portrait was created—late eighteenth-century

[403] Ibid.
[404] Ibid., 176.
[405] Ibid.

Cusco—the production of woven garments such as the *lliklla* and *aksu* she wears (that were most probably of a technical structure and refinement associated with elite Indigenous cloth of the pre-contact period), was limited and likely available only to the noble Indigenous class.

As Karen Graubart notes, Indigenous garments woven according to pre-contact standards were replaced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by clothing created in textile workshops, or *obrajes*, or imported into the colony. While a low cost cloth, called *paño*, predominated among the lower class, middle class and elite women preferred dressing in imported fabrics and Indigenous garments in general became "less likely to be sold and bought on any large scale."[406] Doña Manuela Tupa Amaru's access to hand-woven elite Indigenous garments, therefore, would reflect her prestige and status based in economic value if she had paid for them—as the labor entailed would have, by the eighteenth century, been very specialized; or, likewise, the fabrics would have conveyed her status based in memorial and legacy value if they had come to her through inheritance, passed down through generations of noble Inka women.

Doña Manuela Tupa Amaru, centered on the canvas, transmits through the painting's formal language a certain presence. The dominant pyramidal form created by her dark

[406] Graubart, "Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor in Early Colonial Peru," 555.

woven *lliklla*, or mantle, and the similarly subdued *aksu*, or gown, shown beneath it, equates her Indigenous identity with gravity and stability. These woven garments, furthermore, have significant elements to consider but first we can note the other clothing details that peak out from behind the Indigenous cloth and that speak to Spanish colonial influence. The inclusion of lace sleeves, for example, indicates the noble woman's access to fine European materials but may be interpreted as another layer of symbolic power-in-clothing, showcasing an elite—whether Spanish or Inka—appreciation of fine fabric with significant value vested in its labor-intensive manufacture.[407] In addition, we can see a lining or a slip of blue cloth showing from beneath her *lliklla* and from behind her *aksu*. It is unclear exactly where the blue cloth begins, but it seems to project like a skirt and perhaps the *aksu* is worn over it like an apron. Like the lace sleeves, the blue fabric would be of very fine quality, possibly of silk material, with a sheen suggested in the more prominent folds as well as accentuated with the gleam of a white fabric seen at its hemline. Maya Stanfield-Mazzi writes how the luminosity of materials like silk would have resonated within an Indigenous value system, noting "its reflectiveness likens it to other materials used in Amerindian ritual, such as gold and silver, iridescent bird feathers, and precious stones."[408] The association of a shiny silk fabric to materials such as gold and silver would meet the symbolic value of other particularly Indigenous elements in this painting, as well. For example, the depiction of *Inti*/the Sun deity, often associated

[407] Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 125.
[408] Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, *Clothing the New World Church: Liturgical Textiles of Spanish America, 1520-1820*, 32.

with and materialized through gold objects looms at the upper right corner of the painting. (Note also the gold paint that lines her coat of arms.)

Dean and Stanfield-Mazzi reference how materials such as lace and silk, seen in the attire of the colonial Indigenous nobility, also shared a textile language and notions of value-in-cloth with the Church in the colonial Andes. For example, discussing colonial era *Corpus Christi* processions in Cusco, as depicted in a series of paintings from the late seventeenth century, Dean notes that the wardrobes of the colonial Inka nobility reflect both a Native textile tradition but also allude to a value in material cloth shared by the Church, since the same men wearing Native-style *unkus* are also wearing lace sleeves such as would be seen in Church vestments: "If anything, the flowing sleeves allude to church vestments and make the composite whole an Inka equivalent to robes of parochial office."[409] As Dean notes, *Corpus Christi* was one of two celebrated events in the liturgical calendar when Native Inka nobles wore predominantly pre-contact garments (the other being the feast of Santiago), both of which were feasts that celebrated religious as well as political triumph and so evoked in different ways expressions of confrontation. Native dance performances portraying ritual battle that reenacted traditional pre-contact Andean enmity between rival groups were regular components of such festivities and Dean remarks how these

[409] Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ,* 126. For more about the *Corpus Christi* painting series in overview, see this book's chapter 4, starting on p.63. The paintings were associated with the parish church of *Santa Ana* in Cusco but now are dispersed between the Museo Arzobispal del Arte Religioso in Cusco and private collections elsewhere in South America.

militaristic performances were meant to be seen by the Spanish audiences as reflecting a disorder or "the chaos prior to the arrival of the Spaniards and Christianity."[410] The Church-sponsored festivities and the colonial structures that dictated the parameters of these ritual battles were, thus, meant to show how Spanish governance had brought order to this "chaos." Dean notes these performances would have been viewed as entertainment by the Spanish authority.[411] For the Andean viewer, however, performances of ritual battle (i.e. *tinku*) and the chaos of continual confrontation would have had different inflection—perhaps recalling the productive tension of opposition that was the tenor of Inka identity and of authority, in fact, but on *Inka* terms. Similarly, Stanfield-Mazzi writes about specifications with regard to Church vestments in colonial Peru that demonstrate the value retained in silk fabric (as well as other fabrics such as fur, linen, and sheep's wool).[412] By the mid-sixteenth century, a "silk standard" had been set by priests in the colonial Andes who preferred this material for the silk cloths that would adorn their churches and form the backdrop to liturgical ceremonies and feasts.[413] The translation of silk material for use in the clothing of noble Inka women such as Doña Manuela depicted here would bring with

[410] Ibid., 43.
[411] Ibid.
[412] Stanfield-Mazzi, *Clothing the New World Church*, 17.
[413] Ibid. 27. See the rest of this chapter of the book for more on the sources of silk for the American colonies (various cities in Spain, Mexico, and China at different stages of trade/colonial commerce), as well as her discussion of how the preference for the use of silk for Church textiles was framed within a doctrinal rhetoric and through pronouncements of "decency" that established how sumptuous materials such as these could be incorporated within a sacred, religious order (notably in the face of Protestant denunciation of Catholic practices). Through her study of church inventories and accounts, Stanfield-Mazzi offers detailed information on the preference for silk material and variations thereof (e.g., damask, velvet, satin), what examples of these look like across different colonial contexts, and how they were employed by church officials to further the Church's mission and project its authority among its Indigenous parishioners.

it some of the same associations of hierarchy and exclusiveness that silk within the Church had.

To turn to Doña Manuela's Indigenous garments, we see an equation between these and the more European elements in her wardrobe in terms of the power they evince in their materiality as well as in the symbolic value they could retain. Her *lliklla*, or mantle, conforms to a design form attributed to the warp-faced weaving tradition of the southern Andean highlands, whose legacy in weaving was much admired by the Inkas. This southern highland weaving tradition has its origins in the pre-contact period and is recognizable in the woman's *lliklla* by its characteristic two-paneled form (*callu/qallu*) and tripartite color division as well as its small pattern (*pallay*) detailing typically "confined to narrow stripes [*guardan*] that follow the gridlike format of the warp and wefts."[414] The patterned areas of the *lliklla* would be separated by expanses of plain color called the *pampa*, which convey the idea of an open field, as in an agricultural field yet to be sown.[415] The Inkas of the central highlands seem to have looked to the southern highlands to develop their own "brand" of elite garments, however, for example using the tripartite color divisions in their noble women's *llikllas* and introducing fake center "seams" in some of these that appear to mimic how highland panels were sewn together (see chapter 3 for more on this). In the colonial period, as well, Phipps notes that the central highland Cusco elites, who

[414] Elena Phipps, "Converging Cultures," 149.
[415] Ibid.

were Inka descendants, continued to look to the highland weaving tradition and created their own high-status tapestry (or weft-faced) weavings to resemble highland warp-faced structures.[416] These *lliklla*/mantle types would have looked much like the one Manuela Tupa Amaro is seen wearing in this painted portrait.[417] Furthermore, Gail Silverman mentions something about textiles from the Vilcabamba area today that may tie into the reading of this painting, which is their tendency to showcase black *pampas* as this textile does.[418] Vilcabamba was where the last autonomous Inka leader established his seat of power, the "Neo-Inka empire," and it was from him that Doña Manuela was claiming descent. Perhaps this connection to (the Vilcabamba-based) Tupa Amaro was being emphasized in the language of her garment.

Although in the painting we cannot distinguish any fine woven patterns along the narrow stripes at the *lliklla's* upper edge, which she wears wrapped around her shoulders and pinned with the silver *tupu*, it looks like the entire *lliklla* form would be divided into three central color/design areas with the red and white center and the black *pampas* on either side of it, and then two border areas (only the top border area made evident in the painting). With regard to interpreting the stripes, in a contemporary weaving context today among an Aymara community in Bolivia, Denise Y. Arnold suggests that patterns of lines and stripes (*listas*) in certain

[416] Ibid., 150.
[417] Ibid., 151: "The earliest tapestry-woven llicllas from the colonial period, probably from the late sixteenth century, share the layout fundamental to warp-patterned llicllas: three pattern bands juxtaposed to two fields, with single bands of outer borders along the top and bottom edges."
[418] Gail Silverman, "Los Signos del Imperio," 81.

garments and in certain satchels register inventories related to agriculture and the specificities of production and circulation, for example, which brings up questions of authority in relation to land use.[419] Considering how little *llikllas* have changed in general as a form over several centuries, the *listas*/stripes in the painting's garment may have similar values. If we turn to the expanse of black *pampa* in the *lliklla* represented, we also broach the subject of agriculture. These *pampas*—or colorfields— on either side of the narrower stripe sets are in today's ethnographic context described as agricultural fields that have yet to be cultivated. In textiles, the *pampa* is a recognized metaphor for this type of space in the actual landscape: an open, awaiting, virgin, uncultivated, wild area. We see these "open," "uncultivated" fields in traditional garments today as well. It is noteworthy, however, that in the colonial period there was a stylistic trend that generated numerous elite-style *llikllas de qumpi* wherein the *pampa* area appears "full" and "cultivated" instead of open and expansive. In these examples, the *pampa* has become a visual cacophony of floral and faunal imagery.[420] In light of the relative abundance of this modified *pampa* style in the colonial period, the fact that Doña Manuela's *lliklla* emphatically retains the austere implications of the "agricultural fields yet to be cultivated" seems significant. Her *lliklla's pampas* contextualize a different notion of land use and occupation,

[419] Arnold, *El Textil y la Documentación del Tributo*, 160.
[420] Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ,* 25, discusses male garments of the colonial period and the changes made to what had previously been undecorated zones of *qumpi unkus*, noting that there was an "elimination of undecorated zones" that produced a "more vocal garment" replete with motifs that referred to Andean nobility. This was paralleled in women's colonial *qumpi* wear. Here, in contrast, in Doña Manuela's solemn *pampas*, the silence of the dark expanse—seemingly mute in comparison to a contemporary colonial design preference—is speaking to a pre-contact knowledge system.

expressive of the family's pursuit of unclaimed territory. It is as if with this expanse of unclaimed land worn on her body, she indeed bodily claims it.

Again, the portrait of Manuela Tupa Amaro was not necessarily among the artworks used to corroborate and enhance the claims that her son Don Diego Betancur was making through his written legal testaments; it simply was part of his larger collection of paintings. However, if it did enter the same legal discourse as some of those paintings he employed within legal strategy, how could the representation of textiles on her body—textiles that existed within a densely coded and long-lived Andean communicative system wherein design, formal layout, color, etc. harnessed ideas of land and attachment to place—*not* transmit some kind of message as well? Even in the broad strokes of its description within the portrait, the woman's *lliklla* is not a negligible identifying feature. More to the point, the most striking aspect of her attire is the expansive black pampa, connotative of unclaimed and unused fields awaiting some kind of transformation. Unlike other contemporary paintings of Inka women, which Phipps notes were often dressed in colorful, motif-heavy garments,[421] this one starkly emphasizes not the patterning of *pallay*/designs but the opposite: the land to be claimed.

This returns us to the idea of how the long-standing visual rhetoric of textiles could engage and intervene in the colonial environment/spaces typically dominated by the

[421] See Phipps, "Converging Cultures," 153, and Majluf, "Manuela Tupa Amaro, Ñusta," 171.

written word. The fact that this painting emerges in the late eighteenth century and still articulates the communicative code of Indigenous textiles relays that these textiles indeed could carry value across time, space, and cultural spheres with potency. In the context of colonial legal disputes and the forging of new identities that merged Andean and Spanish perceptual lenses, certain textiles were threshold objects that collapsed the borders between colonial authoritative structures shaped by the written word and pre-contact authoritative structures expressed in non-alphabetic material forms. The painting of Manuela Tupac Amaru in several ways becomes a communicative format that mediates between the exclusivity of the written word and the Andean/Inka graphic textile code.

We can also look at the coat of arms seen over Manuela Tupa Amaru's left shoulder to extract more meaning that converges with the textile medium, by pointing to its upper register where we find two serpents at either end of a rainbow. Snake/serpent translates to "*amaru*" in Quechua and the emblem here would reference Manuela's family name. More specifically it was a reference to the second Inka coat of arms, which Guaman Poma illustrates among four emblems (Fig. 45). Going clockwise from the viewer's upper left we see how the author labeled the forms: "*quriquinquitica pluma*" (translated as a hummingbird with gold feathers); the "*palma chunta*" with an "*otorongo achachi Inka*" (or Chunta palm with a jaguar, referred to as "Inka grandfather or ancestor jaguar") behind it; the "*amaru Inka*" (or

Inka serpent) at lower left; and then the "*mascaypacha tuson"* (or *maskaypacha*/Inka royal fringe) at lower right.[422]

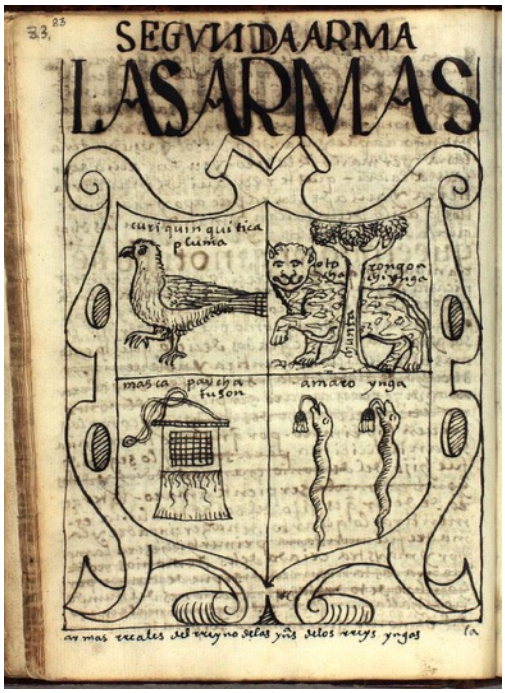

Fig. 45. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer y Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, c. 1615. SEGVNDA ARMA: LAS ARMAS, folio 83 [83] Sourced from Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark online: http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/83/en/text/

Also of note in Doña Manuela's portrait is the inclusion of the *maskaypacha,* or Inka royal fringe, seen as a detail on the "forehead" of the Sun/*Inti* form above her coat of arms. Many colonial-era portraits of Inka women display the fringe—often seen as part of a larger headdress—to signal their claims to Inka royal lineage. As Carolyn Dean notes, however, Inka women are never shown *wearing* the royal fringe or accompanying headdresses in colonial paintings, suggesting they could not claim the political authority or right to political posts that, alternately, a man of Inka noble

[422] Guaman Poma de Ayala, folio 83; the Inka's "first" coat of arms as described by Guaman Poma.

heritage might have laid claim to in the colonial context: "this manner of display [where the fringe/headdress are not worn but rather separated from the woman's body] suggests that to possess and exhibit the fringe was to claim royal heritage; to put it on was to proclaim "high" political authority..."[423] My suggestion is that that access to, or articulation of, political authority—such as in relation to a political authority in land terms—is seen in portraits of Inka women through other forms.

To look, for example, at the "*amaru*," or serpent, form seen in this painting's coat of arms, it was also an important sign referring to power. The "*amaru*" carried symbolic connotations in the pre-contact Andes, alluding to the environment and elements of the eastern lowlands, or that quadrant of "Antisuyu" within the quadripartite *Tawantinsuyu* territory.[424] The *amaru* as such could be symbolic of this edge of territory. The *amaru* form also would have had strong meaning within a worldview embedded in the wider Andean culture. The *Amaru* was long recognized as a supernatural entity among previous Andean cultures and appears in earlier Andean cultural expressions as an iconographic type. For example, we see double-headed serpents in Mochica metalwork and ceramics and there are serpent forms with feline characteristics in Paracas textiles and what Rebecca Stone calls "vision serpents" in ceramic objects of the same period such as the well-known "Oculate Being" mask or mummy bundle covering, where double-headed snakes cross the frontal plane of the

[423] Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ,* 105.
[424] Margarita E. Gentile, "El Amaru como emblema de los Incas del Cusco (siglos XVI-XVII), in *El Futuro del Pasado*, no. 8 (2017): 299.

object's form.[425] The Inkas associated the double-headed snake also with the rainbow, *k'uychi*, which as a composite form was understood to take part in the Pachamama's hydraulic cycles, taking waters from one place to deposit at another and also thus evoking the presence of ancestors since they were often thought to reside in watery places such as underground channels, lakes, or also the lowlands. In many of these examples the *amaru* may have been further symbolic of trance states or altered states of being experienced by spiritual practitioners—reinforcing ideas of transition or of liminal states.

The various interpretations and symbolic associations would have resonated with ideas of transformation rooted in serpents' ability to move between middle and lower planes as well as in their ability to shed their skin.[426] (With respect to the feline-serpent connection, the association of felines (e.g. jaguars) with transformative states is also relevant to their natural relationship with both terrestrial and aqueous environments and perhaps also their night vision and nocturnal habits. Jaguars retain this strong symbolic power today among spiritual practitioners across South

[425] Stone, "Art of the Andes: from Chavín to Inca," 59-60; the object Stone cites is held at the Brooklyn Museum (64.94); there are other similar objects in museum collections, for example one at the Princeton University Art Museum (2013-80), referenced in Andrew Hamilton's "New Horizons in Andean Art History," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, Vol. 75/76 (2016-2017): 48-49. Hamilton is not convinced the forms we see in this type of iconography are serpents but seem instead to reference parts of a fish called an armored searobin. For more on the persistence of this form see also Catherine Allen, "The Incas Have Gone Inside: Pattern and Persistence in Andean Iconography."

[426] For example, Allen, "The Incas Have Gone Inside: Pattern and Persistence in Andean Iconography," 194, notes that the aspect of "going inside"—think, the serpent as it moves into/through the earth— is associated with change/transformation: "For a native Quechua speaker any movement—literal or metaphorical—into an interior location implies a qualitative change in consciousness."

American cultures, across different ecological/geographic zones.) In its transformational mode, furthermore, the *amaru* invokes dynamic energy and as such enters a conceptual category shared with "*tinku,*" which refers to productive tension that can also yield transformation and transition and carries volatility as virtue. As a being which transitions between the inner world, below ground, and the earthly, terrestrial realm, the *amaru* expresses the idea of borders but more so border crossings, or convergence. Its connotations do not entirely overlap with those of *tinku*, however, in that although it is a creative force, it may be associated more with generating imbalance and disorder rather than balance. Nonetheless, this may be a negotiable difference; when discussing a double-zigzag motif in a contemporary Andean context, which she suggests can link to the *amaru*, Catherine Allen notes the motif is essentially a "row of *tinkus*."[427]

The supernatural *amaru* is seen to be responsible for earthquakes or for the overflow of rivers or springs, or for landslides, or other "earth-opening" phenomena—not "positive" things but events that are respected and absorbed into a cosmology of necessary universal tension.[428] Gentile refers to the narrative of the mountain deity Pariacaca as told in the well-known Huarochirí Manuscript, which was drafted in the early colonial period but recounts the antics of this pre-contact, and pre-Inka

[427] Lozada Pereira, 196.
[428] Gentile, "El Amaru como emblema de los Incas del Cusco (siglos XVI-XVII)," 299; see also R. Tom Zuidema, "El Juego de los Ayllus y el Amaru," *Journal de la Societe des Americanistes,* Vol. 56, No. 1, (1967): 49.

supernatural. In the story, a double-headed supernatural *amaru* emerges from the body of a deity named Huallallo Carhuincho who was an opponent of the snow-capped Pariacaca. Pariacaca manages to stab the double-headed *amaru*, which then turns to stone, where it remained in the path leading to the snow-capped Pariacaca. The petrified *amaru* thus ends up marking the spatial-geographic divide between the cool mountain environs that would be Pariacaca's domain and the warmer climate to the east, *Antisuyu*, whereto Huallallo Carhuincho fled upon defeat.[429] Gentile suggests that expressions of the *amaru* form, whether manufactured by human hands or natural (such as rock formations with serpentine form), were integrated into stories of how the Inkas conquered others, and suggests this symbolism is what in fact comes through in the Inka coat of arms with serpents. Broadly, the *amaru* emblem had associations with *Antisuyu*, or the lowland/Amazonian sector of the Inka empire, and specifically "protagonized" the frontier of Antisuyu.[430] This frontier would have been quite a volatile one for the Inkas because the ethnic groups in this lowland tended to rely on more nomadic life ways and were generally harder to integrate into the Inkas' practices of reciprocity and exchange.[431]

Furthermore, according to Tom Zuidema the symbolic equation of the *amaru* that opens the earth (essentially, an earthquake) with "opponent," and particularly the *vanquished* opponent, also has a long history within Andean cultural constructs. In an

[429] Gentile, "El Amaru como emblema de los Incas del Cusco (siglos XVI-XVII)," 301-302.
[430] Ibid., 311.
[431] Ibid.

essay that ruminates on how the different partitions of the Inka empire, i.e. the *suyus* of *Tawantinsuyu* (including *Antisuyu* noted above) carried their various associations of higher or lower status in relation to the Inka "center" at Cusco, he comments that the "*amaru*" emblem was a counterpart to the "*waman*," or falcon, emblem that expressed the main subdivisions of empire: "Every subdivision of huaman or amaru could represent, then, a town or a tribe."[432] In this dualism there was a hierarchy, as is typical of Andean dualism/complementarity. The *waman* (falcon) always corresponded to conqueror and victor whereas the *amaru* typified the conquered and the vanquished.[433] The symbolic overlay with respect to *amaru* is that conflict with the opponent registers as equivalent to the earth's opening/an earthquake.[434]

Or, to bring it back into the conversation of space and borders, we might use Allen's language for seeing the *amaru* as "marking the actual process of transition, a force bursting across an enclosing boundary."[435] Like earthquakes that break through the surface, opponents can break through the borders—but an active tension at the territorial border contributes to the dynamic energy of the state and the state does not recoil from this, so to speak, but may, instead, embrace it as an activating reality.

---

[432] Zuidema, "El Juego de los Ayllus y el Amaru," 49-51: "Cada sub-tipo de huaman o de amaru podía representar pues a un pueblo o una tribu."
[433] Ibid., 50. Zuidema also notes that the *amaru* was associated within the symbolic system of a feline archetype; often serpents in Andean visual culture do carry feline aspects, such as whiskers or cat-like fangs.
[434] Gentile, "El Amaru como emblema de los Incas del Cusco (siglos XVI-XVII)," 319.
[435] Allen, "The Incas Have Gone Inside: Pattern and Persistence in Andean Iconography," 196.

Symbol Sets

The *amaru* form recalls the zigzag form discussed in chapter 2 as seen on pre-contact Inka men's *unkus* and their border spaces as well as the over-under form as discussed in chapter 3, as seen on pre-contact women's *llikllas*. While Mary Frame discusses the zigzag type of motif as part of the "triangle family" of pre-contact Inka *tuqapus* and distinguishes this "family" or category from the one that would include a more "wavy" or undulating form, such as would harbor the concept of "*amaru*,"[436] I am inclined to see the two types—the more angular zigzag and the more wavy "serpentine"—as potentially overlapping in value. I think it is possible for motifs of the two to carry multivalent currency that erodes the borders between one type and another. As Dean writes of the Inkas and their ease with overlapping meaning, "Attempts to isolate singular meanings seem destined to fail because the Inkas embraced and exploited multivalence, employing visual analogies that privileged conceptual linkages over perceptual particularities."[437] To this point, Stanfield-Mazzi writes about zigzag motifs seen on the borders in pre-contact and colonial era textiles from the Chachapoyas region. In the pre-contact period, the Chachapoyas zigzag is curvilinear in character and seen prominently in textiles and ceramics alike and Stanfield-Mazzi suggests it conveys the concept of "*sami*," or life-giving flow.[438] *Sami* has to do with notions of life force and breath. In Aymara it translates similarly,

[436] Frame, "Tukapu, un Codigo Grafico de los Inkas. Segunda Parte," 253-255. Frame thinks that an "*amaru*" form and an "undulating" motif form would be in separate families or categories of *tuqapu* because *amaru* carries such strong symbolic value.
[437] Dean, "A Celebrated Stone: The Inkas' Carved Monolith at Saywiti," 316.
[438] Stanfield-Mazzi, *Clothing the New World Church*, 275.

Denise Y. Arnold noting that in the South Central Andes in the region of Oruro, "*samiri*" are ritual stones recognized as being able to transmit breath. [439] According to Stanfield-Mazzi, serpents as well as waterways are associated with the concept. In this manner, we see how concepts and expressions—such as *sami, tinku, amaru*—that articulate a certain energy or exchange of energy may overlap in the Andean cosmology and find their concentrated value come forward in a similar form, such as the zigzag or *q'inqu* motif. *Sami* and a kind of zigzag, or back and forth gesture of different angularity we might say, is also discussed in terms of Andean visual culture examples that suggest "directional" attitude as part of this expression of energy flow.[440] A general notion of circulation of energy, transmitted through the zigzag, may also be an apt conceptualization of zigzags seen in colonial era garments and motifs where transformation and fluid identities are part of the colonial reality.

Reflecting back to chapter 2's analysis of the zigzag as an element in textile border details that accentuates a back-and-forth expression, this conceptualization is echoed in the form and idea of *amaru*. In the painting of Doña Manuela, we can locate the suggestion of an *amaru*/zigzag motif on the textile she wears: at the lower section of her *aksu* (Fig. 46.)

---

[439] Arnold, *El Textil y la Documentación del Tributo*, 114: "Por ejemplo, en los cerros de la región del sur de Oruro, Bolivia, hay piedras rituales en los cerros que se llaman *samiri* y se considera que estas piedras son 'transmisores de aliento'." See also Catherine Allen, "Miniatures and Animation in the Andes," *Journal of Anthropological Research* (Winter 2016): 000.

[440] For example, see Mathieu Viau-Courville, "Spatial Configuration in Tiwanaku Art. A Review of Stone Carved Imagery and Staff Gods," *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino*, Vol. 19, No 2 (2014): 22-23.

Fig. 46. (Detail) Anónimo Cuzqueño, Manuela Tupa Amaro, c. 1777. Oil on canvas, 167x 106 cm, image courtesy of Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Lima, Peru.

In this register, below the two red stripes, a motif that looks like a triangle in combination with a smaller square (almost like part of the "Inka key" motif) meets against a darker triangular form and a zigzag is brought forward. The painting of this *pallay*, or design area, is somewhat schematic but the alternation between dark and light, forming the zigzag, seems to be purposeful and communicative of something. If the set of red lines form a consistent and "stable" border line, the zigzag forms between them push against that stable form. We can also read the zigzag as "part" of the "Inka key" motif. Mary Frame has suggested in various texts that the "Inka key" motif communicates the relationship between the moiety structure of the Inka empire, with its greater division of upper/*hanan* and lower/*hurin* and, within that, the quadripartite—pair of pairs— structure (Fig. 47).[441]

[441] Frame, "Tukapu, Un Código Gráfico de los Inkas, Segunda Parte," 259.

Fig. 47. (Detail) Anónimo Cuzqueño, Manuela Tupa Amaro, c. 1777. Oil on canvas, 167x 106 cm, image courtesy of Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Lima, Peru.

Could another reading here be that because we see just *part* of the "Inka key" form we are seeing an expression of partition or tension within the (former) *Tawantinsuyu* space on Manuela's gown? Frame notes that pairings, and the symmetry of pairings, as seen in Inka male *unkus* resonates with the pairings in *Tawantinsuyu's* overall socio-political organization.[442] Because we may be seeing only a part of the "Inka key" motif, is it signaling only a *part of* the empire?

In the period the painting was created—the late eighteenth century— *Tawantinsuyu* had long been torn asunder. The empire was no longer a unified entity composed of

[442] Ibid. "…he hecho notar las relaciones pareadas en las propiedades de simetría y dirección en las túnicas, así como sus isomorfismos con la organización sociopolítica del Tawantinsuyu."

four parts/*suyus* but was, rather, a memory of a greater whole lodged in the hearts and minds of the Inka nobility, such as Manuela Tupa Amaru and her descendants. The zigzag form created here may communicate the broken edges of the former *Tawantinsuyu*; a volatility is there, the *amaru* perhaps is there—but perhaps the *amaru* is now coming through as the defeated/the conquered Inkas within their own borders, which were lost to the Spanish colonial power.

Or perhaps the *amaru* is an expression of Inka presence coming through in another way. In an analysis of certain *pacchas* (drinking vessels often used in ceremonial contexts), Catherine Allen remarks on the appearance of feline-serpent, or *amaru* forms, seen often on the vessels' handle-spouts. She points out that as a marker of transition, the *amaru* "signifies the contact and transition between opposed states [and] appears in iconography and oral tradition at *tinkus*, and is connected to the ancestral Incas in their interior hiding place."[443] In this reading, the interior hiding place would be equated with the past also, but also with the original sites of emergence; that is, the past and future can become conflated. The possibility for reemergence exists therein.

To add to the interpretation that Manuela Tupa Amaru's painting may present symbols of transformation as seen in an *amaru* (or akin zigzag), or also that it invokes the idea of an Inka past hiding in the "interior," there is a more materially explicit

[443] Allen, "The Incas Have Gone Inside: Pattern and Persistence in Andean Iconography," 196.

turn to the analysis. The portrait of Doña Manuela in fact resurfaced from beneath another painting, having been hidden from view because its content—the rendering of an Indigenous noblewoman who seemed to be visually asserting place, if not territory, in the name of her Inka heritage—was likely deemed too controversial. The painting had been created after the uprising of Tupac Amaru II, who was unrelated to this Manuela Tupa Amaru but was, for his part, making similar claims to hers.[444] In light of the claims she was asserting, within the larger context of Indigenous actors reasserting their historical rights in an atmosphere that would be recorded as Andean rebellion, Doña Manuela perhaps was seen as an agitator. She herself turns out to be a kind of *amaru*, or a volatile identity hiding in the interior.

Poetically, the painting that covered her portrait was of the patron saint of Cusco, the *Cristo de los Temblores*, or Christ/Lord of the Earthquakes (called so because the sculpted crucifix subject of the painting had intervened to save the city during an earthquake). In an article on the Christ of the Earthquakes' cult as it developed over time following the 1650 earthquake, Stanfield-Mazzi notes that by the eighteenth century ritual attention to the sculpted form, upon which the image is based, shifted both in terms of its adherents and in terms of its locus. As opposed to an inclination in scholarship to see the cult of this *Christ*'s sculpted image as one rooted in the practices of commoners and Indigenous believers (it is also affectionately called *Taytacha Temblores* in a combination of Quechua/Spanish), the author argues that in

[444] de Paz, "El Cuadro Que Volvió a Nacer," *El Comercio, Tema del Día, 2 de agosto* (2015) C2.

the early eighteenth century Cusco's Spanish and creole residents founded a confraternity to sponsor rituals around the sculpted *Christ* that expropriated it from a broader public ritual discourse through their financial leverage and power and also in how they absorbed it into indoor ritual practices versus public ones.[445] Furthermore, in the hands of these non-Indigenous elites, images of this Savior type would come to express anti-idolatrous power.[446] Stanfield-Mazzi notes that this *Christ* type stood as a counter to those idolatrous practices explicitly associated with how Indigenous Andeans interacted with their landscape, that is, continuing to see the land as alive with supernatural presence: "Thus the ongoing or renewed practice of Andean religion, which worshipped sacred beings resident in features of the landscape such as mountain peaks, was seen by creoles [as] the immediate cause of the earthquake. The image of Christ [was] used to respond and atone for these..."[447] Stanfield-Mazzi also refers to another painting that portrays this Christ type in his role as a force against Andean idolatry and that, in further emphasis of the threat of idolatry, has depictions of devils in various guises, one of which is in the form of a serpent. In the context of this painting type, where Christ of the Earthquakes is shown as vanquisher of idolatry, whether the serpent form summons a familiar iconography from within a

[445] Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "Shifting Ground: Elite Sponsorship of the Cult of Christ of the Earthquakes in Eighteenth Century Cusco," *Hispanic Research Journal*, Vol. 8, No.5, (December 2007): 445-47.
[446] Ibid., 449. Stanfield-Mazzi notes that one of the first paintings of Christ of the Earthquakes that would have surfaced as a "public statement" of the original sculpture's powers is the well-known (c.1670s) painting commissioned by the Spaniard Alonso Cortés de Monroy depicting Cusco during the event of the 1650 earthquake, which, critically, references the statue that would come to be known as the *Cristo de los Temblores* as it was promenaded through the main plaza: "The work proclaims the statue's potency in direct reference to the earthquake of 1650, and suggests that carrying the image in petitionary processions could activate these powers."
[447] Ibid., 452.

Christian visual vocabulary or whether it could have been read within an Andean symbolic system of serpent/*amaru* as a transformational being, defeat was the message.[448] However, as I suggest with this example of Doña Amaru's portrait that was found hidden beneath an image of a *Cristo de los Temblores*, the serpent/*amaru,* with its transformational nature may upend expectations. Whether purposefully or not, the painted subject of the Christ figure that overlay the portrait and that recalls an earth-shattering event resonates with the iconography of the *amarus* seen on one of Manuela Tupa Amaru's coat of arms and with the suggested iconography of the zigzag *pallay*/motif seen on her textile garment. Furthermore, it resonates with the symbolism she herself carried as an *amaru*, or vestige of the Inka past. All of these factors combine to make the painting one that roils with notions of volatility and transformation at various "borders" of experience.

Although archival records have yet to demonstrate that Indigenous textiles such as garments of the colonial period were able to contend as "evidence" against the written word in formal disputes about land holdings or access and claim to land, etc., this is not to say that textiles did not make certain things "evident." They certainly made landscape and land issues visible to the Indigenous viewer and wearer, the question has always been one of who authorizes which ways of making things "seen" or visible and who legitimizes *which* communicative language. They also made evident to Indigenous Andeans and Spanish viewers—but perhaps more viscerally to

[448] Ibid., 453-54.

Andeans—that the Andean past was not forgotten. To Indigenous Andeans, particularly, visual references to an Inka past, embedded in textiles, brought the past into the present and simultaneously authorized the garments' wearers to "speak" thus as legitimate embodiments of a past authority now navigating a colonial reality fraught with imbalance.

Conclusion

This dissertation has considered how Indigenous Andean textiles during the pre-contact and colonial periods engaged ideas of the inhabited space as well as experiences of other kinds of space or spatial relationships, with particular focus on the Inkas and their elite textile tradition. The chapters throughout reflect on how different interactions across different spaces were incorporated into ideologies of power—both Inka power, and then as influenced by Spanish colonial power—and expressed in different ways on textile forms. What also surfaces are suggestions of how textiles allude to ideas about space as territory and, relatedly, concepts of border and frontier and claims to landscape. Examining different examples from Andean pre-contact and post-contact periods, the chapters offer analyses that aim to de-center how we interpret the value of certain materials and objects across religious, political, spatial frameworks. Highlighting the value of Inka textiles and exploring how they can be discussed in relation to Inka notions of space and, within that scope, to the land, demonstrates the embedded relationship Indigenous Andeans have with the land and brings forward important political, religious, and historical implications.

For millennia, textiles have been part of a knowledge system linked to how Indigenous Andeans fathom and experience notions of space and how they interact with and perceive their landscape. Andeans draw from a history that has long incorporated fiber craft within a visual culture full of symbolic, representational, and

presentational value; this was particularly the case with the Inkas of the central Andes highland region that are the focus of this work. Fiber objects of various degrees of intricate fabrication have been elemental to the Andean lifestyle. Cesar Paternosto notes that from its beginnings the textile medium defined how Native Andeans configured their experienced reality. Geometric forms that were derived from the "coordinates of the textile medium" populated not just Andeans' textiles but their ceramic ware and other material expressions.[449] Furthermore, he surmised that the technical structure of textiles can be seen as expressive of how Andeans conceptualize the larger space they inhabit, "giving it form, division, direction and unity."[450]

Writing about early textiles from the site of Chavín de Huantar and experiences of viewing, William Conklin suggests that in an Andean context much earlier than the Inkas (as far back as c.1200 BCE), certain textile imagery was conceptualized so as to be viewed horizontally rather than vertically. Images were painted on fabric such as to suggest that it should be viewed flat or horizontally, not viewed from an upright, vertical position. Conklin suggests that this emphasis on horizontality off the loom may have been because the textiles served as cosmological charts that reflected an idea of the cosmos or that depicted a mythic ordering of the Chavín universe.[451]

---

[449] César Paternosto, *Stone and the Thread: Andean Roots of Abstract Art*, translated by Esther Allen (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 163.
[450] Ibid., 164.
[451] William .J. Conklin, "The Culture of Chavin Textiles," in *Chavín: Art, Architecture, and Culture*, edited by William J. Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press/UCLA, 2008), 268; Conklin also references a Mochica slit tapestry textile that he suggests also

Rather than the textile imagery serving as a map or plan of the local site's layout, he suggests the imagery transmits the *greater order* of things.[452] The horizontality of the imagery, in this sense, would allow for a reading of the textile as presentation of a greater notion of "space," one meant to convey an experiential mode, or how activity shapes space, or how movement can be translated into form. In other words, the textile space would have echoed how the exterior, inhabited space was navigated. My discussion throughout this dissertation is sympathetic to this exploration—that Inka textiles both in the pre-contact and in the post-contact period expressed, at a smaller scale, notions of order and also disorder that could be "read" as reflecting how these were experienced in the larger, inhabited Andean space.

In a rhetoric of state and power, the Inkas located themselves as closely aligned with nature, highlighting relationships they had with different living forms within the landscape. These relationships and the ways in which they were materialized and made evident "grounded" the Inkas, legitimizing their authority in the landscape. Material interventions (among which we would include textiles and rock carving) that defined Inka visual culture/visual rhetoric helped the Inkas transmit and convey that they claimed "place." If we consider that the visual cues of the pre-contact Inka period were full of meaning in the absence of other language codes, such as written language, it is easier to fathom how Inka textiles, and particularly those having to do

---

may have served as a cosmological map for that culture, with the textile meant to be viewed or experienced in a horizontal position rather than vertically/upright.

[452] Ibid.

with state ideology regarding space, had a lingering communicative potency for Indigenous Andeans after colonization. Other scholars have written about how textiles—both male- and female-specific— carry cultural meaning relevant to community organization, social status like marriage, ideas of legacy/continued tradition, and/or cultural rites of passage, many aspects of which bring up questions of legitimacy in the eyes of an administrative or legal system. My work here intends to further those conversations. Indigenous textiles are a medium that has continually been undervalued in the registers of history but there is significant contextual evidence to suggest that it was (and is) a medium through which Indigenous men and women visualize claim to ancestral lands or recall former pre-contact notions of space. I also suggest that in the early colonial period part of that recall was particularly evocative of notions of the volatile "edge," or of ideologies of border spaces as powerful nexus points of convergence and relationality.

By the same token, another factor I bring up is that in the context of colonial takeover of Indigenous lands or Andean space in general, textiles can be understood as threshold objects activating the border space between the written, alphabetic codes of a European hegemonic system and the heightened, sensorial codes of an Andean communication system that persisted despite colonizing efforts to subdue or eliminate them. To the extent that they can be viewed with more nuance and comprehended to have value that broaches on substantial political, religious, and social matters, perhaps textiles can make incursions into the discourse of colonial archives and written

record-keeping to inflect those histories with a dimensional understanding that resonates with Indigenous history-making as well.

Appendix

Technical Notes

To help elucidate how Inka textiles were enmeshed with ideas about the construction of space and (material, social, political) interrelationships within space, and how this is seen in textiles and their border areas, it may be helpful to refer to some of the technical aspects of weaving. Though this dissertation does not dwell extensively on technical aspects of Andean textiles and weaving processes, I briefly note here the terms that may be relevant when considering the art and science of textiles.

Warp and weft and loom: The warp and weft threads of a given textile fabric are the vertical and horizontal components, respectively. When the warp and weft threads interlace in a basic over-under movement from selvage to selvage (edge to edge), this is called plain weave.[453] (An Andean fabric structure, however, can be much more complex than this.) The loom is the structure upon which a cloth is woven. It is composed of a frame—usually of wood—with bars at top and bottom upon which the vertical threads, called warps, are wrapped and secured. The (vertical) warp threads are the underlying structure when the loom is set up; the weft, or horizontal threads, are introduced to the warp firmament but a textile can be woven in such a way that either the warps or the wefts can become the dominant element: the dominant threads

[453] Wallace, "The Processes of Weaving Development," 27, notes that this can also include weaves with paired warp and weft threads; also explains that "plain cloth" is used to describe a fabric with no decoration.

will be packed more tightly than the less dominant threads and therefore obscure those from view. A fabric with a warp-dominant structure is called warp-faced; one that is weft-dominant is weft-faced or also known as "tapestry" weave. The types of looms used in the Andes were typically: the backstrap loom, which attaches to the weaver's waist and to any external and stable structure; the staked loom, which has the two loom bars (that secure the top and bottom of the textile web) resting on four stakes that inserted into the ground in a rectangle shape; and the upright loom, which consists of two vertical poles inserted into the ground that then sustain the top and bottom horizontal loom bars so that the entire structure stands upright. With the backstrap loom the movement of the weaver's body creates the necessary tension for threads to be interwoven. The loom type that was used to construct many of the textiles discussed throughout these chapters, however, was most likely the upright loom, where the warps were extended along horizontal loom bars that were up to seven feet wide.[454] This type of structure was used by the Inkas for production of their imperial cloths because it allowed for the finest fabric construction and a consistent or standardized dimension; as the matrix of warp and weft threads was woven on these looms, weavers could more adeptly batten the threads down tightly, a task that would have been more difficult to accomplish on a more typical or common backstrap loom.

[454] Amy Oakland Rodman and Vicki Cassman, "Andean Tapestry: Structure Informs Surface," *Art Journal,* Vol. 54, No. 2, Conservation and Art History (Summer, 1995): 33.

Although the weaving tradition in the Andes region is thought to have originated in its coastal areas, coastal and highland textiles developed distinct structural characteristics.[455] The types of weaving structures in the textile examples examined in these chapters are highland ones that tend to comprise interlocking tapestry (weft-faced) weave, although complementary warp-faced weave is referenced as well.[456] Both interlocking tapestry and complementary warp weave techniques have a long tradition in the highland areas of the Andes. With regard to the weaving practices the Inkas employed for their elite textiles and garments, often the discourse revolves around interlocking tapestry technique, although this was not the only means by which they created their prestige items.[457]

Qumpi weave: this term refers to a high-quality fabric type that was used by the Inkas within their repertoire of prestige goods. It is unclear to scholars what qualities exactly corresponded to something being deemed with this label; it may have been expressive of the very fine thread count of a given textile, or a reference to a meticulous structural technique (such as tapestry, or the specific interlocking weft-faced weave that the Inkas preferred but may also apply to the very fine, high density

[455] William J. Conklin, "Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry: Time and Style in a Sierra Weaving Tradition," Ñawpa Pacha: Journal of Andean Archaeology, No. 21 (1983): 1-44. Conklin reviews the development of the interlocking tapestry technique among early highland groups and makes the case for a continuity of technique that distinguishes highland/Sierra textiles from coastal ones.
[456] Complementary warp-faced weaving is more common among the Aymara speaking cultures of the highlands, more dominant culturally in current day Bolivia.
[457] Ann Pollard Rowe, *Warp-patterned Weaves of the Andes* (Washington DC: Textile Museum, 1977); see also Amy Oakland Rodman and Vicki Cassman, 33-39; William J. Conklin "Structure as Meaning in Andean Textiles," in *Chungará: Revista de Antropología Chilena*, Vol. 29, No.1 (enero/junio 1997): 109-131.

fabrics produced in highland areas further east that were warp-faced), or the fact that a fabric was completely finished on both surface, i.e. was double-sided, or some other high standard that has not been transmitted conclusively through oral, written, or material records.[458] *Qumpi* cloth was carefully regulated in production and use by the Inka state through sumptuary edicts and through control as well over the camelid herds necessary for the elite fibers.[459] Clothing made of *qumpi* weave or quality was distributed within the state's network of political administrators and allies. I will generally associate *qumpi* as a classification of the interlocking tapestry technique and the fine thread count seen in Inka ritual and state garments.

Interlocking tapestry weave: In this type of structure, weft/horizontal threads of different colors interlock around each other between the warp threads, thus binding the different wefts tightly and creating a smooth transition from color to color. The interlocking tapestry technique produces color shifts that create very precise and clean designs. [460]Tapestry technique involves simple warping, where one thread is used to warp the loom. In this close-up image of a section of a pouch in tapestry weave (likely a *ch'uspa*/bag used for carrying coca leaves) the white warp fibers are seen beneath the weft fibers, which are more numerous in quantity and obscure them. Tapestry or weft-faced woven fabrics were produced as early as the Early Horizon

[458] Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," in T*he Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830* eds. Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, and Cristina Esteras Martin (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art with Yale University Press, 2004), 21.
[459] Joanne Pillsbury, "Inka Uncu: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art*, Vol.7 (2002): 70.
[460] Conklin, "Pucara and Tiahuanaco Tapestry," 2.

(c.900-200 BCE) in the southern coastal area of Peru.[461] The interlocking tapestry technique associated with the elites of the Andean highlands is also called discontinuous weft weave. The weft-faced weaving structure that included the "interlocking" technique would later become part of a textile language among elite and state or other high status entities of the highland areas up until the early colonial period. The Quechua-speaking Inka empire seems to have exalted the production and use of the interlocking tapestry type following in the cultural tradition of previous highland cultures that the Inkas presumably sought association with, such as Recuay (Pukara), Tiwanaku, and Wari.[462]

Complementary warp weave: Whereas tapestry uses one thread to warp the loom, complementary warp-facing technique can be much more complex. Warp-faced weaving is when the vertical warp threads on the loom dominate the face of the textile. The *complementary* warp technique creates the warp-faced structure with pairs of warps, rather than single warps, and these engage with the weft threads to create a fabric that shows two colors on either side, directly inverse to one another throughout the weaving (Fig. 13). This type of structure can create a thicker fabric that is more hospitable for the climate of the highlands. It has particularly rich antecedents over millennia among the Aymara-speaking cultures of the Lake Titicaca

[461] Sophie Desrosiers, "El Textil Como Matriz Para el Desarrollo de las Artes Plásticas en los Andes," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2013): 498. Desrosiers references William J. Conklin, "An Introduction to South American Archaeological Textiles with Emphasis on Material and Techniques of Peruvian Tapestry," in *Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles, 1974 Proceedings: Archaeological Textiles*, dir. R.L. Fiske (Washington: Textile Museum, 1975): 17-30.
[462] Rodman and Cassman, 33-39.

region. Warp-faced weaving has consistently been associated with the larger Andean ambit across the same time periods as tapestry (weft-faced) weaving but has continued up to the present, whereas tapestry weaving practices began fading out during the colonial period. According to textile scholar Ann P. Rowe, complementary warp-weaving is the most significant form of weaving in the Andes today.[463]

Web or matrix: In this dissertation, the finished textile cloth—often seen in a rectangular or square format in the Andes and at different scales depending on function—is referred to as the web, or also the fabric matrix. Certain garments or cloths will be composites of more than one web, that is, of fabrics woven on separate looms but conjoined to form a larger piece.

Panel or band: Within a given web or fabric matrix, or composite of webs, there may be various panels that are distinguished from each other through, for example, structural difference or patterning. A band would describe a panel of narrower dimensions.

Spin in textile fabrication: often textile specialists will note such details in fiber structure as the direction of the twist of a thread (designated as S-spun or Z-spun) as it is spun from the raw fiber and whether it is plied with one or two other threads to form a more secure weft or warp yarn; plied threads are also characterized by the

[463] Rowe, *Warp-patterned Weaves of the Andes*.

direction of the ply. This detail is significant structurally because when spin and ply direction are contrary the yarn is more stable.[464] For example, Ann P. Rowe contends it was standard for Inka state weavers to use 3-ply warps of either cotton or camelid/alpaca fiber that were Z-spun, S-plied and 2-ply alpaca weft threads that were Z-spun, S-plied for the construction of the elite male tapestry *unkus*, or tunics.[465] The spin or direction of a thread can also have symbolic associations and/or religious significance. When threads are plied in a counter clockwise direction they form the Z type. As the Z direction does not have any structural difference from an S (or clockwise) direction, it is thought that there are other reasons for choosing this type. Various textile examples from across Andean cultures and time periods wherein Z-spun or Z-plied threads seem to have been deliberately chosen to contrast with or distinguish areas apart from those with S-spun or S-plied threads suggest that directionality does carry heightened meaning.[466]

"Bandas, Listas or qallu and ch'uru/cchuru" or stripes/lines: The design area of a textile may include wide stripe forms ("bandas" in Spanish) and narrower stripes called "listas," on either side of typically "busier" decorative motif zones. Listas are thought of as complements to the larger design bands and design areas.[467] Furthermore, according to Denise Y. Arnold, there is a potential analogy between the

[464] Ibid., 32.
[465] Rowe, "Technical Features of Inca Tapestry Tunics," 7.
[466] See for example Conklin, "Structure as Meaning in Andean Textiles," 118-19.
[467] Arnold. *El Textil y la Documentación del Tributo,* 107.

listas seen on textiles and the cords seen in the knotted fiber/cord statistical instruments called *khipu*: that it is possible the listas/stripes on cloth express a quantitative value regarding the other design aspects of the fabric which may themselves be references to agricultural production.[468]

To expand further on the role of stripes in other textile formats, the female weavers that Denise Y. Arnold works with in Qaqachaka, Bolivia, for their part talk about the more heavily decorative areas of their *llikllas* as expressions of growth cycles, while the colored stripes/bands (called *ch'uru* in Aymara and *chhuru* in Quechua) or *listas* (*qallu* in Quechua) that sometimes accompany these (in the *lliklla* all these patterns will be oriented horizontally versus the Isluga bags' verticality) refer more specifically to the furrows in a field; these stripe areas, Arnold relays, suggest "rows of seeds in the furrows, at the beginning of the growth cycle, or else the quantities of ripe crops piled at the sides of fields, at the end of the cycle."[469] In addition, in some cases the stripes in Qaqachaka *llikllas* are associated with natural resources such as waterways, rivers, canals.[470] (The representations associated with textile stripes will be different depending on the community and its local references.) What seems to be applicable to various textile formats is that the design areas broadly, including stripes (*chhurus* and *qallus*), counter the textiles plain areas.

[468] Ibid., 107-08.
[469] Arnold, "Making Textiles into Persons," 255.
[470] Arnold, *El Textil y la Documentación del Tributo*, 124.

"Pampa" or field: The "pampa" is typically the plain, single-color field area of the traditional woman's *lliklla* form. This textile area has its correlate in agriculture as the "plain" field that could be described as being in an expectant state, i.e. it is not yet in a state of cultivation. It is the "campo," or that which lies outside of the town.[471] Arnold explains that to contemporary weavers in Qaqachaqa, in Bolivia, *pampa* is the equivalent of the earth at rest during the dry season, or the earth that is not being worked (yet).[472] Gail Silverman suggests that different colors of pampa may refer to different purposes for the as-yet cultivated field.[473]

"Pallay" or design area: In contrast to the "resting" pampa, the "pallay" area is the soil that has been turned over and is in its productive stage.[474] *Pallay* areas may also include motifs symbolizing the tools necessary for the production or harvesting of crops or may include designs that suggest seeds, or flowers, or animals that are particular to the local geography; much scholarship in contemporary weaving communities in the Andes conveys this knowledge to an extent.[475] However, we know from late sixteenth-, early seventeenth-century colonial grammars/dictionaries of the dominant Indigenous Andean languages, Quechua and Aymara, that terms like

[471] Ibid., 117. Arnold references Ludovico Bertonio's seventeenth century *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*.
[472] Ibid., 119
[473] Silverman, "La Escritura Inca," 41-42.
[474] Arnold, *El Textil y la Documentación del Tributo*, 119.
[475] Much ethnographic work during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has referenced the communities of Chinchero and Q'ero in Peru and Qaqachaka in Bolivia, for example, which I have sourced for this analysis. These are places where scholars such as Ed and Christine Franquemont, Nilda Callañaupa Alvarez, Gail Silverman, Elvira Espejo Ayca, Denise Y. Arnold have done their work (see bibliography).

pallay and *pampa* were engaged similarly to reference both agricultural and weaving processes. Arnold discusses other interpretations of *pallay* areas that also touch on ideas of productivity or generative process but they are not as applicable to this dissertation's analysis of how textiles convey meaning associated with the landscape.[476]

Interrelating *lista/stripe, pampa*, and *pallay* areas: the *pampa* is the open and "natural" and as yet uncultivated space, the *pallay* and *lista/chhuru* (stripe) areas are the more constructed, "cultural," and worked spaces.[477] Furthermore, as Cereceda notes in her case studies and as is mentioned in the Introduction here, the *pampa* is a space of continuity whereas stripe areas are equated with the idea of discontinuity and separation, although they also have an ambiguity to them, in some cases being spaces of conjoining and mediation.[478]

[476] Arnold, *El Textil y la Documentación del Tributo*, 120; Arnold notes, for example, that weavers also conceive of panel areas on the textile as having "mother" and "child" relationships to one another.
[477] Cereceda, 194.
[478] Ibid., 195. Cereceda's description of the alternating *chhurus* and *qallus* (bandas and listas) suggests this: "Cada chhuru recibe exactamente su opuesto total como complemento: un chhuru (ancho) claro recibe junto así un qallu (angosto) oscuro, mientras una banda oscura recibe una lista clara. El equilibrio se logra así mediante el 'intercambio de las diferencias'."

Bibliography

A

Adorno, Rolena. "The Language of History in Guaman Poma's Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno," in *From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period*, edited by Rolena Adorno (Syracuse, NY: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1982), 109-173.

Adorno, Rolena. "The Depiction of Self and Other in Colonial Peru." *Art Journal* 49: 2 (1990): 110-118.

Adorno, Rolena. "Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala: Author and Prince," in *Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author,* edited by Rolena Adorno et al. (New York: Americas Society, 1992), 32-45.

Adorno, Rolena. *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000.

Adovasio James M. and Thomas F. Lynch, "Preceramic Textiles and Cordage from Guitarrero Cave, Peru." *American Antiquity*, Vol. 38, No.1 (Jan. 1973): 84-90.

Alberti, Benjamin and Andres Leguens, "Toward a Situated Ontology of Bodies and Landscapes in the Archaeology of the Southern Andes," in *Andean Ontologies: New Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by María Cecilia Lozada and Henry Tantaleán (University Press of Florida, 2019), 213-239.

Alconini, Sonia. *Southeast Inka Frontiers: Boundaries and Interactions*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2016).

Allen, Catherine. "The Incas Have Gone Inside: Pattern and Persistence in Andean Iconography." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics, 42* (2002): 180-203.

Allen, Catherine. "The Whole World Is Watching: New Perspectives on Andean Animism," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, edited by Tamara L. Bray (University Press of Colorado, 2015), 23-46.

Allen, Catherine. "The Sadness of Jars: Separation and Rectification in Andean Understandings of Death," in *Living with the Dead in the Andes*, eds. Izumi Shimada and James L. Fitzsimmons (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 304-328.

Allen, Catherine. "The Living Ones: Miniatures and Animation in the Andes." *Journal of Anthropological Research* (Winter 2016) 72 (4): 416-44.

Arkush, Elizabeth N. *Hillforts of the Ancient Andes; Colla Warfare, Society, and Landscape*. University of Florida Press, 2015.

Arnold, Denise Y. *El Textil y la Documentación del Tributo en los Andes: Los Significados del Tejido en Contextos Tributarios.* La Paz: Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara/ILCA, 2016.

Arnold, Denise Y. "Making Textiles into Persons: Gestural Sequences and Relationality in Communities of Weaving Practice of the South Central Andes." *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 23, Issue 2 (2018): 239-260.

Arriaga, Pedro de. *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru* [1621] translated by L. Clark Keating. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968.

Bat-Ami Artzi. "...y son indios por conquistar": las alegorías femeninas de los cuatro suyus en el testimonio etnohistórico y arqueológico," *Revista Andina* (2015): 301-340.

Aveni, Anthony F. *Skywatchers of Ancient Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001.

Ayca, Elvira Espejo and Denise Y Arnold. *El Textil Tridimensional: La Naturaleza del Tejido Como Objeto y Como Sujeto*; *Serie Informes de Investigación II,* No. 8. La Paz: Fundación Xavier Albó and Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara, 2013.

B

Bal, Mieke. "Visual Essentialism and the Object of Visual Culture." *Journal of Visual Culture* 2; 5 (2003): 5-32.

Barraza Lescano, Sergio Alfredo. *Acllas y Personajes Emplumados en la Iconografía Alfarera Inca: Una Aproximación a la Ritualidad Prehispánica Andina,* Master's thesis, colección del Magíster en Arqueología con mención en Estudios Andinos, Escuela de Posgrado (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2012).

Barraza Lescano, Sergio."Tincu y Pallca: lugares de encuentro en el territorio Inca." *Proyecto Qhapaq Ñan* (Peru: Ministerio de Cultura, 2013); accessed August 9, 2021 https://qhapaqnan.cultura.pe/sites/default/files/articulos/154849781-Tincu-y-Pallca-Lugares-de-Encuentro-en-El-Territorio-Inca.pdf

Bastien, Joseph W. "Qollahuaya-Andean Body Concepts: A Topographical-Hydraulic Model of Physiology." *American Anthropologist, New Series*, Vol.87, No.3 (Sept. 1985): 595-611.

Basu, Paul. *The Inbetweenness of Things: Materializing Mediation and Movement between Worlds*. London: Bloomsbury, 2018.

Bauer, Brian S. and Alan Covey, "Processes of State Formation in the Inca Heartland (Cuzco, Peru)." *American Anthropologist* 104 (3) (September 2002): 846-864.

Betanzos, Juan de. *Narrative of the Incas*, translated and edited by Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan from the Palma de Mallorca Manuscript. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Bird, Junius. *Paracas Fabrics and Nazca Needlework, 3rd Century BC-3rd Century AD*. Washington DC: The Textile Musuem, 1954.

Bird, Junius and Wendell C. Bennett, *Andean Culture History, Handbook Series*, No.15. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1964.

Bird-David, Nurit. "'Animism' Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology." *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 40, No. S1, Special Issue Culture—A Second Chance? (February 1999): S67-S91.

Boserup, Ivan and Mette Kia Krebe Meyer. "The Illustrated Contract between Guaman Poma and the Friends of Blas Valera: A Key Miccinelli Manucript discovered in 1998," in *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guaman Poma and His Nueva Corónica,* edited by Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup (Copenhagen: The Royal Library Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015), 19-64.

Bray, Tamara. "La Alfarería Imperial Inka: Una Comparación entre la Cerámica Estatal del Área de Cuzco y la Cerámic de las Provincias." *Chungara: Revista de Antropología Chilena,* Vol. 36, No.2 (Julio-Diciembre 2004): 365-374.

Bray, Tamara. "An Archaeological Perspective on the Andean Concept of Camaquen: Thinking through Late Pre-Columbian Ofrendas and Huacas." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19:3 (2009): 357-366.

Brokaw, Galen. *A History of the Khipu*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Brokaw, Galen. "Semiotics, Aesthetics, and the Quechua Concept of Quilca," in *Colonial Mediascapes: Sensory Worlds of the Early Americas*, edited by Matt Cohen and Jeffrey Glover (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 167-202.

Bromley, Nicholas. "Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence: The Frontier, the Survey, and the Grid." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93:1 (2003): 121-141.

Browne, David M. and Helaine Silverman, Rubén Garcia, "A Cache of 48 Nasca Trophy Heads from Cerro Carapo, Peru." *Latin American Antiquity*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Sep. 1993): 274-294.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M. "Figurines and the Aztec State: Testing the Effectiveneess of Ideological Domination," in *Gender and Archaeology,* edited by Rita P. Wright (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 143-166.

Burger, Richard L. *Chavin and the Origins of Andean Civilization*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.

Burger, Richard. "The Construction of Values during the Peruvian Formative," in *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World,* edited by John K. Papadopoulos and Gary Urton (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute, UCLA, 2012), 240-257.

Burns, Kathryn. *Making Indigenous Archives: The Quilcaycamayoc of Colonial Cuzco*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.

C

Veronica Cereceda, "Semiologia de los Textiles Andinos: Las Talegas de Isluga." *Chungará, Revista de Antropología Chilena*, v. 42, n. 1 (junio 2010): 181-198.

Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo. *Diccionario Quechua Junín-Huanca*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación, 1976.

Carroll Clarkson, *Drawing the Line: Toward an Aesthetic of Transitional Justice (Just Ideas)*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2013.

Cobo, Bernabé. *Inca Religion and Customs*, translated and edited by Roland Hamilton. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.

Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History, entry on 'The Inka's tunics'. Edited by Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, Sandra Lauderdale Graham (New York: SR Books, 1998).

Conklin, William J. "The Revolutionary Weaving Inventions of the Early Horizon." *Ñawpa Pacha: Journal of Andean Archaeology*, No. 16 (1978): 1-12.

Conklin, William J. "Structure as Meaning in Andean Textiles." *Chúngara: Revista de Antropología Chilena*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (enero/junio 1997): 109-131.

Conklin, William J. “The Culture of Chavin Textiles,” in *Chavín: Art, Architecture, and Culture*, edited by William J. Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press/UCLA, 2008), 261-277.

Conlee, Christina. “Decapitation and Rebirth: A Headless Burial from Nasca, Peru.” *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (June 2007): 438-445.

Cornejo Guerrero, Miguel Antonio. “El Rombo Escalonado: un Símbolo de Poder Inka.” *Revista Arqueológica Americana*, No. 24 Manifestaciones Simbólicas, Centry y Sur América (2006) 125-141.

Cornejo Polar, Antonio, *Writing in the Air: Heterogeneity and the Persistence of Oral Tradition in Andean Literatures.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.

Cummins, Tom. *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2002.

Cummins, Thomas B.F. “The Images in Murúa’s Historia General del Piru: An Art Historical Study,” in *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of Martín de Murúa’s Historia General del Piru, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16*, edited by Thomas B.F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 147-174.

D

D’Altroy, Terence N. “Remaking the Social Landscape: Colonization in the Inka Empire,” in *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters,* edited by Gil Stein (Alburqueque, NM: SR Press, 2005), 263-295.

D’Altroy, Terence & Darryl Wilkinson, “The Past as Kin: Materiality and Time in Inka Landscapes,” in *Constructions of Time and History in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, edited by Edward Swenson and Andrew P. Roddick (Boulder: University Press, 2018), 107-132.

Dean, Carolyn. *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999.

Dean, Carolyn. “Inka Nobles: Portraiture and Paradox in Colonial Peru,” *Exploring New World Imagery: Spanish Colonial Papers from the 2002 Mayer Center Symposium*, edited by Donna Pierce (Denver: Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art, Denver Art Museum, 2005), 80-103.

Dean, Carolyn. “The Trouble with (The Term) Art.” *Art Journal*, Vol. 65, No.2 (Summer, 2006): 24-32.

Dean, Carolyn. “The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place.” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 89, No. 3 (Sept. 2007): 502-518.

Dean, Carolyn. *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rocks*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

Dean, Carolyn. “Inka Water Management and the Symbolic Dimensions of Display Fountains.” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics,* No.59/60 (Spring/Autumn 2011): 23-38.

Dean, Carolyn. “Men Who Would be Rocks: The Inka Wank’a,” in *The Archaeology of Wak’as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-columbian Ande*s, edited by Tamara L. Bray (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2015), 213-38.

Dean, Carolyn. “A Celebrated Stone: The Inkas’ Carved Monolith at Saywiti.” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, Vol. 73-74 (Spring-Autumn 2020): 307-324.

de France, Susan D. “Zooarchaeology in Complex Societies: Political Economy, Status, and Ideology.” *Journal of Archaeological Research*, Vol.17, No. 2 (June 2009): 105-168.

de France, Susan D. “The Luxury of Variety: Animals and Social Distinction at the Wari site of Cerro Baul, Southern Peru,” in *Animals and Inequality in the Ancient World*, edited by Benjamin S. Arbuckl, Sue Ann McCarty (University Press of Colorado, 2014), 63-84.

Delaney, David. *Territory: A Short Introduction*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005.

De Paz, Maribel. “El cuadro que volvió a nacer.” *El Comercio* (Lima) 2 de Agosto, 2015.

D’Harcourt, Raoul. *Ancient Peruvian Textiles and Their Techniques* [Les textiles anciens du Pérou et leurs techniques], edited by Grace G. Denny, Carolyn M. Osborne, translated by Sadie Brown (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974).

Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger*: *An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Dransart, Penelope. *Elemental Meanings: Symbolic Expression in Inka Miniature Figurines*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1995.

Dransart, Penelope. “Thoughts on Productive Knowledge in Andean Weaving with Discontinuous Warp and Weft,” in *Textiles, Technical Practice, and Power in the*

Andes, edited by Denise Y. Arnold and Penelope Dransart (London: Archetype, 2014), 216-232.

Dueñas, Alcira. *Indians and Mestizos in the 'Lettered City': Reshaping Justice, Social Hierarchy, and Political Culture in Colonial Peru*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010.

DuPlessis, Robert S. "Wallerstein, World Systems Analysis, and Early Modern European History." *The History Teacher*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Feb. 1998): 221-32.

Duviols, Pierre. Cristóbal de Albornoz, "Un Inédit de Cristóbal de Albornoz: La Instrucción Para Descubrir Guacas del Pirú y Sus Camayos Y Haziendas." *Journal De la Societé des américanistes*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (1967): 17-31.

E

James Elkins. *What is Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction*. New York and London: Routledge 2003.

F

Femenías, Blenda. "Structure, Design, and Gender in Inka Textiles," *Pre-Columbian Textile Conference VII / Jornadas de Textiles PreColombinos VII*, edited by Lena Bjerregaard and Ann Peters (Lincoln, NE: Zea Books, 2017), 341–348.

Finley Hughes, Lauren. "Weaving Imperial Ideas: Iconography and Ideology of the Inca Coca Bag." *Textile*, Vol.8, Issue 2 (2010): 148-179.

Flores-Ochoa, Jorge A. *Pastoralists of the Andes: the Alpaca Herders of Paratía*, translated by Ralph Bolton. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1979.

Frame, Mary. "Las Imágenes Visuales de Estructuras Textiles en el Arte del Antiguo Perú." *Revista Andina: Estudios y Debates*, Año 12, No.2 (diciembre, 1994): 295-372.

Frame, Mary. "Chuquibamba: A Highland Textile Style." *Textile Museum Journal*, Vols 36-37 (1997-98): 3-48.

Frame, Mary. "What Guaman Poma Shows Us, But Doesn't Tell Us, about Tukapu." *Ñawpa Pacha: Journal of Andean Archaeology*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (2010): 25-54.

Frame, Mary. "Tukapu, Un Código Gráfico de los Inkas, Segunda Parte: Las Configuraciones y Familias de los Elementos" *Sistemas de Notación Inca: Quipu y Tocapu, Actos del Simposio Internacional Lima 15-17 de enero de 2009*, edited by Carmen Arellano Hoffmann (Lima: Ministerio de Cultura, 2014), 247-282.

Franquemont, Christine R. “Chinchero Pallays: An Ethnic Code,” in *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, edited by Ann Pollard Rowe (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 331-38.

Franquemont, Christine and Edward M., and Billie Jean Isbell, “Awaq ñawin: El ojo del tejedor; La práctica de la cultura en el tejido.” *Revista Andina*, año 10, no. 1 (julio 1992): 47-80

Fraser, Valerie. “The Artistry of Guaman Poma.” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, Vol. 29-30 (Spring/Autumn 1996): 269-89.

G

Garcilaso de la Vega, Inca. *Comentarios Reales I*. Barcelona: Red Ediciones, 2014.

Garrett, David T. “His Majesty’s Loyal Vassals: The Indian Nobility and Túpac. Amaru.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84, no. 4 (2004): 575-617.

Gartner, William Gustav. “Mapmaking in the Central Andes,” in *The History of Cartography, Vol.2, Book 3: Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, edited by David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

Gell, Alfred. *Art and Agency*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Gelles, Paul H. “Equilibrium and Extraction: Dual Organization in the Andes.” *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 22, No.4 (Nov. 1995): 710-42.

Gentile, Margarita E. “El Amaru como emblema de los Incas del Cusco (siglos XVI-XVII).” *El Futuro del Pasado*, no. 8 (2017): 297-327.

Gentile, Margarita E. “Tocapu: Unidad de Sentido En El Lenguaje Gráfico Andino.” *Revista Espéculo* 45 (2010): 1–25.

Gisbert, Teresa. *Iconografia y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*. La Paz: Gisbert y Cía., 1980.

Graubart, Karen B. “Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor in Early Colonial Peru.” *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No.4 (Autumn, 2000): 537-561.

Graubart, Karen B. *With Their Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Graham, Laura R. and H. Glenn Penny, "Performing Indigeneity: Emergent Identity, Self-Determination, and Sovereignty," in *Performing Indigeneity* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 1-31.

Grieder, Terence and Alberto Bueno Mendoza. "La Galgada: Peru Before Pottery." *Archaeology*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (March/April 1981): 44-51.

Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615, in the Guaman Poma Website: A Digital Research Center of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark, http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/301/en/text/?open=idm46287306191616

H

Hamilton, Andrew. "New Horizons in Andean Art History." *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, Vol. 75/76 (2016-2017): 42-101.

Hamilton, Andrew. *Scale and the Incas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Herva, Vesa-Pekka and Kerkko Nordqvist, Anu Herva, and Janne Ikaheimo. "Daughters of Magic: Esoteric Traditions, Relational Ontology and the Archaeology of the Post-medieval Past." *World Archaeology*, Vol. 42, No.4, Debates in "World Archaeology" (December 2010): 609-621.

Holguín, Diego González de. *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru* (Lima: Francisco del Canto, 1608) Digitalizado por Runasimipi Qespisqa Software para publicación en el internet, 2007, www.runasimipi.org

Houston, Stephen D. and Tom Cummins. "Body, Presence, and Space in Andean and Mesoamerican Rulership," in *Palaces of the Ancient World*, Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, October 1998, edited by Susan Toby Evans and Joanne Pillsbury (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2004), 359-386.

Hyslop, John. *Inka Settlement Planning*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.

I

Isbell, Billie Jean and Christine Franquemont, and Edward Franquemont. "Awaq Ñawin: el ojo del tejedor, la practica de la cultura en el tejido." *Revista Andina*, 10, no. 1 (Julio 1992): 47-80.

Isbell, William H., and K.J. Schreiber, "Was Huari a State?" *American Antiquity* 43, 3 (1978): 372-389.

Isbell, William H. “Agency, Identity, and Control: Understanding Wari Space and Power,” in *Beyond Wari Walls: Regional Perspectives on Middle Horizon Peru,* edited by Justin Jennings (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 233-54.

J

Jolie, Edward A. and Thomas F. Lynch, Phil R. Geib, J.M. Adovasio. “Cordage, Textiles, and the Late Pleistocene Peopling of the Andes.” *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (April 2011): 285-96.

Julien, Catherine. Review of *Inka Storage Systems*, by Terry Y. Levine. *Latin American Antiquity*, Vol. 6, No.4 (Dec. 1995): 370-371.

K

Knobloch, Patricia J. “Archives in Clay: The Styles and Stories of Wari Ceramic Artists,” in *Wari: Lords of the Ancient Andes*, edited by Susan E. Bergh (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2012).

Kosiba, Steve. “Emplacing Value, Cultivating Order: Places of Conversion and Practices of Subordination Throughout Early Inka State Formation (Cuzco, Peru)” in *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World*, edited by John K. Papadopoulos and Gary Urton (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2012), 97-127.

Kristof, Ladis K.D. “The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Sep. 1959, Vol. 49, No. [Part 1] (Sept. 1959): 269-282.

L

Larson, Brooke. *Cochabamba 1550-1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998.

Lau, George. “Object of Contention: An Examination of Recuay-Moche Combat Imagery.” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 14:2, (2004): 163-184.

Lightfoot, Kent and Antoinette Martinez. “Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective.” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol 24 (1995): 471-492.

M

MacCormack, Sabine. *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Majluf, Natalia. "Manuela Tupa Amaro, Ñusta," in *La colección Petrus y Verónica Fernandini. El arte de la pintura en los Andes,* edited by Ricardo Kusunoki Rodríguez (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2015), 158-185.

Mannheim, Bruce and Gullermo Salas Carreño. "Wak'as: Entifications of the Andean Sacred," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, edited by Tamara L. Bray (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2015), 47-74.

Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place, and Gender*. St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

McEwan, Colin. "Ordering the Sacred and Recreating Cuzco," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, edited by Tamara L. Bray (University Press of Colorado, 2015), 29-48.

McEwan, Gordon F. *The Incas: New Perspectives*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC Clio, 2006.

McEwan, Gordon & Williams. "The Wari Built Environment: Landscape and Architecture of Empire" in *Wari: Lords of the Ancient Andes*, edited by Susan E. Bergh (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2012), 65-81.

Meisch, Lynn A. "Messages from the Past: An Unbroken Inca Weaving Tradition in Northern Peru." *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings* Paper 345, University of Nebraska online http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/345, 380-89.

Metropolitan Museum of Art. *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530–1830,* edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, Cristina Esteras Martin, Luisa Elena Alcalá (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004). Exhibition catalogue.

Mitchell, W.J.T. *Landscape and Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Montero, Raquel Gil. "Mountain Pastoralism in the Andes during Colonial Times." *Nomadic Peoples,* Vol. 13, Iss. 2 (2009): 36-50.

Muldoon, James. *John Wyclif and the Rights of the Infidels: The Requerimiento Re-Examined*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Mullins, Patrick. "Webs of Defense: Structure and Meaning of Defensive Visibility Networks in Prehispanic Peru." *Journal of Archaeological Science*: reports 8 (2016): 346-355.

Murra, John V. “An Aymara Kingdom in 1567.” *Ethnohistory* 15 (2) (1968): 115-151.

Murra, John V. “Cloth and Its Functions in the Inca State.” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Aug. 1962): 710-728.

Murro, Juan Antonio and Jeffrey C. Splitstoser. *Written in Knots: Undeciphered Accounts of Andean Life*. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2019.

Murúa, Martín de. *Historia General del Piru,* facsimile of the J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16, edited by Michelle Bonnice, Chris Foster, Rebecca Vera-Martínez, Jack Ross (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008).

Museo de Arte Lima, *Arte Colonial Coleccion del Museo de Arte de Lima, MALI,* edited by Luis Eduardo Wuffarden y Ricardo Kusunoki (Lima: Asociacion Museo de Arte de Lima, 2016) Exhibition catalogue.

N

Native American Journalists Association online pamphlet on Reporting and Indigenous Terminology: https://najanewsroom.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/NAJA_Reporting_and_Indigenous_Terminology_Guide.pdf

Nielsen, Axel E. “Pastoralism and the Non-pastoral World in the Late Pre-Columbian History of the Southern Andes.” *Nomadic Peoples*, Vol.13, *Special Issue: Mountain Pastoralism and Modernity Historical Approaches* (2009): 17-35.

O

Oakland Rodman, Amy and Vicki Cassman. “Andean Tapestry: Structure Informs the Surface.” *Art Journal*, Vol. 54, No. 2, Conservation and Art History (Summer, 1995): 33-39.

Ossio, Juan. *En busca del orden perdido: La idea de la Historia en Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la PUCP, 2014.

P

Paternosto, César. *The Stone and the Thread: Andean Roots of Abstract Art*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Paul, Anne. “Protective Perimeters: The Symbolism of Borders on Paracas Textiles.” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics,* No.38 (Autumn 2000): 144-167.

Pereira, Blithz Lozada. *Cosmovisión, Historia y Política en los Andes*, Master's thesis, colección de la Maestría en Historias Andinas y Amazónicas, Vol. 8 (La Paz: Colegio Nacional de Historiadores de Bolivia/Producciones CIMA, 2013).

Phipps, Elena. "Textiles as Cultural Memory: Andean Garments in the Colonial Period," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, edited by Diana Fane (New York: Harry Abrams, 1996), 144-156.

Phipps, Elena. "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork*, 1530-1830, edited by Elena Phipps, Johanna Hecht, Cristina Esteras Martín (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 16-41.

Phipps, Elena. "Woven Silver and Gold: Metallic Yarns in Colonial Andean Textiles." *Notes in the History of Art, Vol. 29, No.3 Special Issue: Paradoxes and Parallels in the New World* (Spring 2010) 4-11.

Phipps, Elena. "Andean Textile Traditions: Material Knowledge and Culture Part I," in *Pre-Columbian Textile Conference VII/Jornadas de Textiles PreColombinos*, edited by Lena Bjerregaard and Ann Peters (Lincoln, NE: Zea Books, 2017), 162-175.

Pillsbury, Joanne. "Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru." *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 7 (2002): 68-103.

Platt, Tristan. "Symétries en Miroir: Le concept de yanantin chez les Machas de Bolivie." *Annales* 33-5-6 (Année 1978): 1081-1107.

Platt, Tristan. "From the Island's Point of View. Warfare and Transformation in an Andean Vertical Archipelago." *Journal de la Société des américanistes*, Vol. 95, No. 2 (2009): 33-70.

Puente Luna, José Carlos de la. "That Which Belongs to All: Khipus, Community, and Indigenous Legal Activism in the Early Colonial Andes." *The Americas*, Vol. 72 Special Issue: Indigenous Liminalities: Andean Actors and Translators of Colonial Culture (Jan. 2015): 19-54

Q

Qespi, Atuq Eusebio Manga. "Pacha: un concepto andino de espacio y tiempo" ILCAV (Instituto de Lingüística y Cultura Amerindia de la Universidad de Valencia). *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, 24, (Madrid: Complutense, 1994): 155-89.

R
Radding, Cynthia. *Landscapes of Power and Identity: Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Radding, Cynthia. "Borderlands of Knowledge about Nature: Crossing and Creating Boundaries in Early America*." Early American Studies*, Spring 2015, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Spring 2015): 503-510.

Ramirez, Susan Elizabeth. "Negociando el imperio: el estado inca como culto." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andine*s, 37 (1) (2008): 5-18.

Ramos, Gabriela. "Los Tejidos y la Sociedad Colonial Andina." *Colonial Latin American Review*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (April 2010): 115-149.

Reinhard, Johan. "Interpreting the Nazca Lines," in *The Ancient Americas: Art from Sacred Landscapes*, edited by Richard F. Townsend (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1992), 290-301.

Rogoff*,* Irit*. Terra Infirma: Geographies Visual Culture*. London, New York : Routledge, 2000.

Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Maria and John V. Murra. "Succession, Cooption to Kingship, and Royal Incest among the Inca." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol.16, No.4 (Winter 1960): 417-427.

Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Maria. "Ła Mujer en Epoca Prehispánica." *Documento de Trabajo, Serie Etnohistoria No. 1, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos,* (Junio 1998): 1-16.

Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Maria. *History of the Inka Realm,* translated by Harry B. Iceland. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Maria. *Estructuras Andinas del Poder: Ideología religiosa y Política*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2018.

Rowe, Ann Pollard. *Warp-patterned Weaves of the Andes*. Washington DC: Textile Museum, 1977.

Rowe, Ann Pollard. "Technical Features of Inca Tapestry Tunics." *The Textile Museum Journal*, 17 (1979): 5-28.

Rowe, Ann Pollard. “Technical Reflections of Highland-Coastal Relationships,” in *Textiles, Technical Practice, and Power in the Andes,* edited by Denise Y. Arnold and Penelope Dransart (London: Archetype, 2014), 159-191.

Rowe, John H. “Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest,” in *Handbook of South American Indians*: Vol. II, edited by Julian H. Steward (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1946), 186-92.

Rowe, John and D. Collier, and G.R. Willey, “Reconnaissance Notes on the Site of Huari, near Ayacucho, Peru.” *American Antiquity* 16, 2 (1950): 120-37.

Rowe, John H. “Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics,” in *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference 19-20 May 1973* edited by Ann Pollard Rowe et al. (Washington DC: Textile Museum, 1979).

Rowe, John. “Una Relación de los Adoratorios del Antiguo Cuzco.” *Histórica*, Vol.V, Num. 2, (Diciembre de 1981): 209-51.

S

Salomon, Frank. *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Santo Tomas, Domingo de. 1560 *Lexicon, o Vocabulario de la Lengua General del Peru* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdova, 1560). Access at: John Carter Brown Library, http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/exhibitions/ildb/details.php?id=21

Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro. *History of the Incas*, edited by Sir Clements Markham. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1999.

Schmitt, Carl. *Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of Jus Publicum Europeaum*, translated by G.L. Ulman. New York: Telos Press Publishing, 2003.

Schreiber, Katharina. *Wari Imperialism in Middle Horizon Peru.* Anthropological Papers 87. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1992.

Seed, Patricia. “Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing the Authority of Overseas Empires.” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. XLIX, No. 2, 1 (Apr 1992): 183-209.

Silverblatt, Irene. *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Silverman, Gail P. 1994a. “La metáfora del cuerpo humano: una nueva hipótesis en relación al significado de la iconografía de los textiles de Q´ero.” *Anthropologica*, 12(12): 65–85. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/oaiart?codigo=5042150

Silverman, Gail. “La Escritura Inca: La Representación Geométrica del Quechua Precolombino.” *Ex Novo*, (2011): 37-49.

Silverman, Gail. *The Signs of Empire, Inca Writing*, Vol.1. Cusco: Editorial KopyGraf, 2012.

Sherbondy, Jeanette. “Los Ceques: Código de Canales en el Cusco Incaíco.” *Allpanchis*, No. 27, 18 (1986): 39-74.

Sherbondy, Jeanette. “El Agua: Ideología y Poder de los Incas,” in *El Agua: Mitos, Ritos y Realidades, Coloquio Internacional*, Granada, 23-26 de noviembre de 1992, coordinadores José A. González Alcantud and Antonio Malpica Cuello (Barcelona: Antropos Editorial, 2003), 87-102.

Smith, Monica L.“Networks, Territories and the Cartography of Ancient States.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 95, no. 4 (Dec. 2005): 832-849.

Stanfield-Mazzi, Maya. “Shifting Ground: Elite Sponsorship of the Cult of Christ of the Earthquakes in Eighteenth Century Cusco.” *Hispanic Research Journal*, Vol. 8, No.5, (December 2007): 445-465.

Stanfield-Mazzi, Maya. *Clothing the New World Church: Liturgical Textiles of Spanish America, 1520-1820*. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2021.

Stone, Rebecca. “‘And All Theirs Different from His,’ the Dumbarton Oaks Inka Royal Tunic in Context,” in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power*, edited by Richard Burger, Craig Morris, and Ramiro Matos Mendieta (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 2007), 385-422.

Stone, Rebecca R. *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca*, 3rd ed. London: Thames & Hudson, 2012.

Sundberg, Juanita. “Decolonizing Posthumanist Geographies.” *cultural geographies*, Vol. 21 (1) 2014: 33-47.

Swenson, Edward. “The Materialities of Place Making in the Ancient Andes: a Critical Appraisal of the Ontological turn in Archaeological Interpretation.” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22 (2015): 677-712.

T
Tello, Julio C. *Paracas*. Lima: Empresa Gráfica, 1959.

Tello, Julio and Toribio Mejia Xesspe. *Paracas Segunda Parte: Cavernas y Necropolis*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1979.

Tiballi, Anne. "Weaving the Body Politic: The Integration of Technological Practice and Embodied Social Identity in the Late Prehispanic Andes," in *Textiles, Technical Practice and Power in the Andes,* edited by Denise Y. Arnold and Penelope Dransart (London: Archetype Publications, 2014).

Timberlake, Marie. "The Painted Colonial Image: Jesuit and Andean Fabrication of History in Matrimonio de García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatríz." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies,* 29.3 (Fall 1999): 563-98.

Timberlake, Marie. "The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History: Jesuit and Andean Visions in Conflict in Matrimonio de García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatríz," PhD dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 2001).

Todd, Zoe. "An Indigenous Feminist's Take on the Ontological Turn: 'Ontology' is Just Another Word for Colonialism." *Journal of Historical Sociology* Vol. 29, No. 1, (March 2016): 4-22.

Topic, John. "Final Reflections: Catequil as One Wak'a among Many," in *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, edited by Tamara L. Bray (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2015), 369-396.

U
Max Uhle, "Notes on Ica valley," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 21, no. 3, Appendix B (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1924).

Max Uhle, "Report on explorations at Supe," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 21, no. 6 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1925), 235-264.

Urton, Gary. *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.

Urton, Gary. "The Herder–Cultivator Relationship as a Paradigm for Archaeological Origins, Linguistic Dispersals, and the Evolution of Record-Keeping in the Andes," in *Archaeology and Language in the Andes*, edited by Paul Heggarty and David Beresford-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 321-344.

Urton, Gary. “Aesthetics of a Line Entangled in a Network,” in *Visual Culture of the Ancient Americas: Contemporary Perspectives,* edited by Andrew Finegold and Ellen Hoobler (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017), 17-30.

Urton, Gary. *Inka History in Knots: Reading Khipus as Primary Sources*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017.

V

Verano, John W. “War and Death in the Moche World: Osteological Evidence and Visual Discourse.” *Studies in the History of Art*, v. 63 (2001): 111-125.

Viau-Courville, Mathieu. “Spatial Configuration in Tiwanaku Art. A Review of Stone Carved Imagery and Staff Gods.” *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino*, Vol. 19, No 2., 2014): 9-28.

Vreeland, James. “Ancient Andean Textiles: Clothes for the Dead.” *Archaeological Institute of America*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (May 1977): 11-19.

W

Wallerstein, Immanuel. *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham: North Carolina University Press, 2004.

Wilson, Lee Anne. “Survival, Resistance, and Acculturation: Guaman Poma’s Use of Costume and Textile Imagery.” *Studies in Iconography*, Vol. 19 (1998): 177-210.

Z

Zuidema, R. Tom. “El Juego de los Ayllus y el Amaru.” *Journal de la Societé des Americanistes,* Vol. 56, No. 1, (1967): 41-51.

Zuidema, R.T. “Hierarchy and Space in Incaic Social Organization.” *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Spring, 1983) 49-75.

Zuidema, Tom. “The Lion in the City: Royal Symbols of Transition in Cuzco,” in *Animal Myths and Metaphors in South America*, edited by Gary Urton (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 183-250.

Zuidema, Tom. “Guaman Poma on Inca Hierarchy, Before and in Colonial Times,” in *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guaman Poma and His Nueva Corónica*, edited by Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2015), 441-469.

Zuidema, Tom and Deborah Poole, “Los Limites de los Cuatro Suyus Incaícos en el Cuzco.” *Bulletin de l’institut français d’études Andins* (enero 1982): 83-89.